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ROMANTIC BIOGRAPHY

OF

THE AGE OF ELIZABETH;

OR,

SKETCHES OF LIFE

FROM THE BYE-WAYS OF HISTORY.

BY

THE BENEDICTINE BRETHREN OF GLENDALOUGH.

" We gather after the reapers."

21297

EDITED BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TO

THE MOST NOBLE

THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE, K.G.

THESE VOLUMES

ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

HIS OBEDIENT AND GRATEFUL SERVANT,

WILLIAM COOKE TAYLOR.

PREFACE.

I HATE mystification of any kind, and shall therefore at once explain how it happens that the name of those non-existent personages, the Benedictine Brethren of Glendalough, appears in the title-page. It is now nearly twenty years since I formed one of a pedestrian party from Trinity College, Dublin, bent on exploring the romantic beauties of the county of Wicklow. In the noon of a burning hot day we reached the valley of Glendalough, and sat down to enjoy rest and shade amid the ruins of its Seven Churches. Most of us had recently been admitted to the privileges of the College-library after graduation; our conversation turned on the curious bits of information we had severally gathered in our desultory wanderings through that noble collection, and most of us had some anecdotes to relate respecting persons and events omitted in ordinary histories. These appeared so interesting to us all, that when I proposed the formation of a society to collect and publish similar historical illustrations,—in which truth should be faithfully

spirit and enterprise of Messrs. Curry and Co. had not then given a British reputation to the productions of the Dublin press. In that day a book published in Ireland had just as little chance of becoming known in London as if it had made its first appearance in Melville Island or Kamtschatka. Now Irish talent finds a market in its own country, and, no matter what may be their politics, every Irishman ought to feel proud of two such periodicals as the Dublin University Magazine and the Citizen. I say nothing of the Dublin Review, for it has nothing Irish but its name.

Some years had elapsed when I was joined in London by my dear and lamented friend Dr. Percival B. Lord, whose brilliant but brief career was unhappily terminated in the very beginning of the destructive Affghan war. He reminded me of our old project, in which he had originally participated, and we agreed to collect materials for its realization. An appointment in India separated him from me, to meet no more in this world. (*Eheu!*) In the letters I received from him, he frequently returned to the subject, and jestingly asked if I delayed until he could find an opportunity of rejoining me? I replied, more seriously, that I wished him to give me a life of one of the Delhi emperors, and forwarded him a sketch of Akbar, which I trusted that local investigation would have rendered valuable. My

missive crossed on the road that which brought the intelligence of his death. Thus, gentle reader, I stand before thee, the last representative of the Benedictine Brethren of Glendalough; like one of Job's servants, I have to state that my companions are among the dead, the absent or the cold, "and I only have escaped to tell thee."

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ROMANTIC BIOGRAPHY.

INTRODUCTION.

"All the world's a stage;"—the phrase is hackneyed in its application to the players, but it is not less true of the spectators, who merely see the drama of life as it is acted in public, and rarely know anything of what occurs behind the curtain. Those who compare the ordinary history of any period with cotemporary memoirs, records, and chronicles, can scarcely believe that the opposing accounts relate to the same personages; they feel not less surprised than the country squire who was brought by a friend from his box to the interior of the stage,

> And saw Anne Boleyn in the green-room grant
> A kiss to Wolsey dangling at her crupper,
> Heard an archbishop curse a figurante;
> And Shylock order sausages for supper.

We mortals are a proud race; we have made up our minds to believe that the world is governed by absolute wisdom, that all rulers are perfect statesmen, and all events the result of clever con-

trivance; the truth being, that human administration is, for the most part, consummate folly,—that kings, ministers, and legislators have been, in almost every age, the greatest blockheads in their respective communities, and that the revolutions which have most influenced the destinies of mankind have been the result of blunder or accident. There never was a gorgeous tragedy presented on the world's stage that was not cotemporaneous with a miserable farce behind the curtain.—"Vanity of vanities, saith the preacher, all is vanity."

Secluded from a world which we have renounced, for the best of all possible reasons, because it has renounced us;—no longer actors in the great drama, because we have been hissed off the stage;—forced to become monks, because we were not perfect in our parts as monkeys;—we have imitated the worthy gentlemen who become reviewers when they fail as authors, and set ourselves down to criticise the agency which we are not permitted to direct. We have pored over the pages of our voluminous chronicles, memoirs, and anecdotes, both printed and manuscript, until we have gained some knowledge of the interior machinery which has governed mankind; we have caught glimpses of what passed behind the curtain, and while the uninitiated are weeping over wickedness, we are laughing at folly. The consequence is that we are getting fat, while our worthy lord

abbot, who has dreams about human perfection, both in goodness and iniquity, is as thin as a whipping-post—a simile that grates on the ears of his loving subjects, because it reminds them of the post which they would obtain if they were rewarded according to their deserts.

This has been deservedly called the age of discovery, and we, having caught in our seclusion a portion of the spirit of the age, have undertaken to explore the *Terra Incognita* of Human Folly, leaving our lord abbot, and benevolent people like him, to search for human wisdom, if they can find it. Columbus was not so perplexed with the magnitude of his new continent as we have been by the extent of our old one; our collections for the annals of human absurdity would fill more volumes than are contained in Lardner's Cyclopædia, and would not be half so great an absurdity after all. Our "Natural History of Society" describes more varieties under the single class "blockhead," than Buffon or Cuvier found in the rest of animated nature. We have not merely established as a fact the hackneyed aphorism, that Truth is stranger than fiction, but we have shewn Truth to be such a stranger, that one out of a million does not recognise her when they meet her. Every historian, from Livy to Lingard, has cut her acquaintance, and the sole aim of philosophers has been to have her excluded from decent company as coarse and vulgar. In

fact the realities of history, like the realities of life, have been so veiled, through fear of giving offence or exciting disgust, that ordinary readers run the chance of believing that heroes and heroines are not men and women, but beings of a superior nature.

Our object has been to get rid of idealities, and in our historical views to substitute Daguerrotypes for Fancy portraits. We want to get at the prose of life, for we have been long since surfeited by what passes for its poetry. To return to our first metaphor: we wish to get behind the scenes, to learn the secrets of the prompters and the tricks of the mechanists. We believe that, in many cases, we have succeeded; but we may be mistaken, and, if so, we only add our labours to the existing pile of absurdities and ourselves to the crowded community of the Duncery. Still we are encouraged to illustrate Oxenstiern's text,—"See with what little wisdom the world is governed,"—by the hope that removing prejudices arising from the past will tend to promote comfort for the present, and hope for the future. If the world has gone on tolerably well under the stupidity of former ages, it ought to proceed admirably in the days of such clever writers as we are, and such clever readers as you are, and it ought, in the next generation, to be a paradise, seeing that we are training Bacons in every hamlet where only pigs were trained before.

It was proposed to call this work "The Curiosities of History;" but folly is no curiosity, and the chief result of our researches has been to find folly the moving power in the events most commonly attributed to wisdom and contrivance. Romantic Biography was chosen as the most appropriate title for Sketches of Life in the age succeeding the Reformation, because Rome was then not only antic herself, but the cause of most of the antics played in Europe. Had a Ganganelli occupied the throne of St. Peter instead of a Caraffa, England would not have been lost to the Holy See, the ascetic Reformers would have become founders of new monastic orders, and the Council of Trent, instead of accumulating the scholastic follies of former ages into a creed of interminable length, would have adopted a simple and general formula, which might have been acceptable to all the churches of Christendom.

The latter part of the sixteenth century was the age of great women and little men; Catherine de Medicis in France and Elizabeth in England ruled the destinies of Europe: historians have, for the most part, confined their attention to the political skill displayed by both in their respective administrations; but those who look to the records of past ages for the illustration of character rather than the course of events, will be anxious to know whether stateswomanship did not sometimes display a large alloy of feminine pas-

sion and weakness, and whether temporary expedients have not received the praise due to systematic wisdom.

This inquiry is the more important because we hold that the last of the Tudors in England and the last of the Valois in France, predestined the fortunes of their respective kingdoms, under the dynasties by which they were succeeded. Elements scarcely noted in the reign of Elizabeth, were gathering strength in secresy and silence to become formidable political powers under the Stuarts. It has been our object to trace the origin and exhibit the nature of these elements before they acquired such strength and consistency, as to be identified with party; a task somewhat similar to writing the history of butterflies in their caterpillar state of existence: the admirers of the painted insects will be annoyed at seeing the meanness of their favourites in their grub condition, but we claim for the Natural History of Sects, the privileges accorded to the Natural History of Insects.

It is our belief that idol-breaking is the most unpopular task in which any body of men ever engaged; we are prepared to find multitudes ready to do battle for many of the persons we have censured, and many of the systems we have exposed. Let such have fair notice that we decline all war, and protest against all controversy. Harmony will never be restored

amongst mankind, until we have learned that we are all blockheads together, and entered into a compact for the mutual toleration of the follies of each other. To facilitate this compromise, we have endeavoured to show that folly, though mischievous, is amusing, and that, if men could only be brought to laugh at it, instead of scolding, cursing, and persecuting it, the world would be more merry, more wise, and more happy. Instead of reading history to increase bile, we should study its pages to get rid of our ill-humours; if we do so, instead of proceeding like Balaam when influenced by the spirit of partisanship "to curse Jacob, and to defy Israel," we shall, like the same prophet under happier auspices, feel our sympathies enlarged towards our fellow men, and come away "blessing them altogether."

We have endeavoured to extend to the literature of fact, some of the "gaieties" which are more usually associated with the literature of fiction, without abandoning the "gravities" which necessarily belong to diligent research, and minute accuracy of statement. Let it not be said that we thus derogate from the dignity of History; when the ancient classical authors selected a goddess to preside over this department of knowledge everybody knows that in their choice there was always *a-muse-meant*. Still less should we be blamed for sometimes interrupting the frown of indig-

nation or the tear of sympathy, with allusions calculated to raise a smile; the springs of mirth and of grief are placed close to each other in the geography of the human mind; men frequently laugh until they cry, and sometimes, reversing the process, weep until they smile at their own excess of sorrow. Democritus had an equal claim to the title of philosopher with Heraclitus, or, perhaps, we might rather say, that the true philosophy of history, must be compounded of the ridicule of the one, and the pity of the other,

> Si credas utrique,
> Res sunt humanæ flebile ludibrium,

which we may venture to translate and set forth as the moral result of all historical investigations, whether undertaken by the laughers or the weepers,

> They both combine to show Fate's stern behest,
> That Human Life is but a mournful jest.

CHAPTER I.

MARGARET OF VALOIS,

QUEEN OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE, WIFE TO HENRY IV.

THE massacre of St. Bartholomew was the most horrible of tragedies and the most miserable of farces; the world has heard more than enough about the actors in the tragedy, and, if merely for a change, it is worth while to make acquaintance with a performer in the farce. Fortunately the lady has rendered this a comparatively easy task by bequeathing to us her memoirs, which rank among the most *confiding* specimens of autobiography. A brief account of her parentage and education will form her best introduction to the reader.

Margaret of Valois was the eighth child of Catherine de Medicis, of whom everybody has heard much and knows little. As a matter of course it should be added, that her father was Henry II. of France, but the cardinal of Lorraine has left it on record, that none of his children resembled the king except his natural daughter

Diana, and Margaret's person was so unlike that of the rest of the royal family, that in her case physiognomy did not agree with paternity. She was born when her mother was writhing under the consequences of a blunder, which she had mistaken for consummate policy. On her first arrival in France as dauphiness, Catherine found that, though Francis I. wore the crown, all the power of the state was wielded by his mistress, the Duchess d'Etampes. As the Medicean family was not particularly remarkable for virtue, Catherine was, probably, not much shocked at beholding profligacy on the throne, but she affected excessive liberality on the subject,—she not only paid open court to the royal mistress, but ridiculed the scruples of those who refused homage to unwedded love. She acted her part so well, or rather she overacted it so completely, that her own husband was deceived; believing her sincere in her conjugal theory, he openly professed himself the knight of Diana of Poitiers, and when he ascended the throne gave to her at least as large a share of power, as he conceded to the queen. Seeing that the men crowded round Diana, Catherine had recourse to the women, she formed her celebrated Amazonian brigade, in which were enlisted the chief beauties of France, or, as they were called by a sour Puritan, "the graces, and disgraces of the kingdom." These ladies were more formidable than

armies; Admiral Coligni declared that an encounter with the queen's phalanx was more to be dreaded than the loss of a battle; patriotism might meet undaunted a whole park of artillery, but it was unable to sustain a battery of ladies' eyes.

The squadron of beauty, though admirably disciplined, required the constant and vigilant inspection of its commander. About the time of Margaret's birth, Catherine had relaxed her watchfulness, and several of her troops had deserted to the rival camp. The birth of Margaret revived her courage; all parties agreed that she was one of the most lovely infants ever seen; it was said that "nature was ashamed to send anything but beauty into the queen's court"; and, as a comment on the text, it was insinuated that the deserters had withdrawn from a consciousness that their charms could not compete with those of the ladies who remained. We might regard it as a master-stroke of policy, to have it circulated that opposition to the queen was a confession of ugliness; but, in truth, the report was no ingenious device; it originated with a wretched poet, who introduced it, as a conceit, in one of the most stupid odes that ever was written.

We possess but few accounts of Margaret's early education; she studied classics and coquetry, languages and love, needle-work and needless-work, archery and archness, together with music,

dancing, riding, and the other accomplishments in which recruits for the squadron of beauty were drilled, so as to render them expert in the use of their arms and charms. She was an apt, and, indeed, a precocious scholar. When only seven years' old, her father jocularly asked her one day to name her cavalier, offering the Prince of Joinville and the Marquis of Beaupré to her choice; the young lady without hesitation declared that she preferred the marquis, because he was both prudent and secret, while the prince was a boaster who loved nothing but mischief.

When Francis II. ascended the throne, the Guises, on account of their near relationship to Mary of Scotland, and their great zeal for the Catholic religion, obtained the chief share in the administration. This was a source of great vexation to Catherine, not only because she was ambitious of power for herself, but because it interfered with her plans for the exaltation of her third and favourite son, Henry, to procure a throne for whom was the great labour of her life. In order to create a counterbalancing interest, Catherine and Henry affected to support the Huguenots, and even manifested some tendencies towards embracing their religion. This farce was continued in the early part of the following reign; when Henry sought the aid of the Huguenots against the Guises, he not only protested against the ceremonies of the Latin church, but endea-

voured to bring Margaret over to the new opinions; he burned her prayer-books and rosaries, giving her, in their place, the Calvinistic Devotions, and Marot's version of the Psalms. Though not more than nine or ten years' old, Margaret adhered steadily to her creed, and refused to sing Marot's Psalms, though threatened for her recusancy with the rod.

Margaret was "brought out" in her fourteenth year, at the celebrated conference of Bayonne, which was, nominally, an interview between Catherine and her eldest daughter, the Queen of Spain. Historians have perplexed themselves and their readers with various theories respecting the real object of this conference, and the subjects discussed in the secret meetings of the high personages there assembled; the exact truth cannot be ascertained, but, probably, what a cardinal said of the Medicean intrigues on another occasion would be no inappropriate description of Catherine and the royal negotiators at Bayonne,

"Mehercle, magno conatu magnas nugas dicunt."

That is to say,

Those sensible people appear, on my conscience,
To take mighty trouble to talk mighty nonsense.

Margaret, in her memoirs addressed to Brantôme, gives a curious description of the first great entertainment which she witnessed on this occasion. It was given on an island about a league from

Bayonne; the company went in boats, and when the royal barge advanced, it was surrounded by men disguised as "whales, seals, sea-horses, dolphins, tritons, and other monsters of the deep," who swam a dance, to the great amusement and amazement of the spectators. The tables were served by the junior nobility of the south of France, disguised as shepherds and shepherdesses. After dinner the rocks of the island were brilliantly illuminated, and troops of satyrs and nymphs danced rustic dances, in which greater freedom was allowed than the etiquette of courtly balls would have permitted. In the midst of their gaiety a sudden tempest of wind and rain extinguished the tapers, drenched the dancers, and drove the guests to seek for their boats as best they could, in a darkness as complete as that which plagued Egypt. "The mistakes of the night," says the princess, "afforded a supply of comic scandals, which produced more laughter than the entertainment did pleasure."

Thus formally introduced to the splendours and pleasures of the most gorgeous and profligate court in Europe, Margaret prepared to act her part in the political intrigues which were associated with this dissipation. Her brother Henry having been appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, affected a more ardent zeal for Catholicity than the Guises themselves, and waged war against his old friends, the Huguenots, with all

the rancour of a renegade, but with as little ability as princes usually manifest when they turn field-marshals. He feared that his brother, King Charles IX., might, at some time or other, escape from the tutelage in which he was held, and resume the powers delegated to his lieutenant-general; it was, therefore, necessary that he should have a faithful spy in the court. He tendered the office to his sister Margaret, by whom it was joyfully accepted. She compares her feelings on the occasion to those of Moses when he received the divine mission from the burning bush, and, not content with this piece of blasphemy, she records the prayers that she offered for supernatural assistance in executing her honourable commission.

Margaret, while acting as agent for her brother, engaged in some negotiations on her own account; the young Duke of Guise offered himself as a lover, and was secretly accepted. He was not sufficiently cautious in concealing his success; intelligence of the intrigue reached her brother, Henry of Anjou, who, according to the libels of the time, acted rather as "an outraged lover than a deceived brother." As he was a perfect master of duplicity, he concealed his resentment; and the first circumstance that led Margaret to suspect her danger, was the warmth of the expressions in which Henry professed his attachment to the Duke of Guise. She accompanied her mother to

Angers, where the Duke of Anjou had established his head-quarters; it took her practised eye no long time to discover that she had lost the confidence of her mother and brother, though both tried to amuse her by entrusting her with pretended secrets. Anxiety injured her health; and while confined to her bed, she received a new lesson in dissimulation from Henry. "When I lay sick at Angers," she says, "but more disordered in mind than in body, it happened, unfortunately for me, that the Duke of Guise and his uncles arrived. This gave great joy to my brother, as it afforded him an opportunity for veiling his artifices, but it greatly increased my apprehensions. To hide his plans, my brother came daily to my chamber, bringing with him M. de Guise, whom he feigned to love very much. He used often to embrace him, and exclaim, 'Would to God you were my brother!' The duke pretended not to hear him; but I, who knew his malice, lost all patience, because I dared not reproach him with his dissimulation."

Henry having convinced himself that Margaret and the Duke of Guise were not indifferent to each other, revealed the secret to his brother, Charles IX., who gave way to one of his most violent fits of passion, and threatened Guise with assassination. The duke, in order to avert the royal indignation, married the widow of the Prince of Porcion, with all the precipitation of a

man who felt that the altar was the only means of escape from the grave. Margaret took an active part in procuring a wife for her lover, and, scandal adds, that she did so because the princely widow was not likely to become her rival by the graces of wit or person.

The next thing to be done was to find a husband for Margaret; and this was apparently rendered easy by her declaration that she would accept anybody whom her mother selected. Catherine was perplexed by this promptitude of obedience; but she suspected its sincerity, and kept a strict watch over her daughter. The first person proposed to her was the King of Portugal; but the negotiations terminated abruptly. The second, and successful candidate, was Henry of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. of France.

Every circumstance connected with this marriage is important, on account of the dreadful tragedy with which it is associated; in fact, the private history of the nuptials affords the only intelligible explanation of the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the causes that led to its perpetration; this fearful stain on the annals of France, when closely investigated, appears to be, in the words of Fouchè, " worse than a crime, it was a blunder," it resulted from no clever contrivance or deep-laid conspiracy, but from sheer stupidity and a short-sighted scheme adapted to

existing circumstances, without any reference to the past or future.

The marriage was first proposed to Catherine by Charles de Montmorency, afterwards admiral of France, as a means of creating a counterpoise to the overgrown power of the House of Lorraine. Catherine had spies everywhere; she had become acquainted with the levities and indiscretions of the youthful monarch, and she hoped by pandering to his pleasures to render him a convenient tool. Charles IX. hoped by the aid of the Huguenots to break the thraldom in which he was held by his mother and brother; Henry of Anjou looked only to humbling the House of Guise; and the youngest of the French princes, the Duke of Alençon, believed that the Protestant nobles would raise him to the rank of his brother Henry. None of these motives were avowed; all described the marriage as a master-stroke of beneficent policy which would terminate the wars of religion that had so long desolated France, and prepare the way for a cordial union between Protestants and Catholics.

To the court of Navarre the proposal was still more acceptable; Jane d'Albert, the Dowager-queen of Navarre, was a Puritan of the most rigid caste, and the mere glitter of royalty would not have induced her to unite her son with a Catholic princess, had not the expediency of such a union been confirmed by more important considerations.

An opinion prevailed throughout Europe that the posterity of Catherine was likely to fail in the second generation, indeed, when the Duke of Alençon was proposed as a husband for our Elizabeth, it was deemed necessary to send over medical certificates to be laid before the Queen and her council. Henry of Navarre was the next heir after the House of Valois, but his religion was likely to raise up so much opposition that it was prudent to adopt every means by which his interest might be strengthened. Yet, notwithstanding these powerful reasons, Jane assented to the proposal with reluctance, and often repeated the warning given by one of her councillors, "The liveries worn at this marriage will be turned up with crimson."

In order to expedite the preliminaries, Jane went to Paris, where she was no welcome guest. She was a rigid moralist, if not "a sour precisian," and she came to the most profligate court in Europe, resolved not to abate one particle of her stern Puritanism. In a very short time, she had made enemies of all around her, except King Charles, whose friendship was more perilous than his enmity. Her letters to her son show the misery she felt in this crisis. "Much," she says, "as I have heard of the profligacy of this court, the reality far surpasses my anticipations. Here it is not the men who ask the women, but the women who ask the men. Were you to come

amongst them, you could not escape without a special miracle."

The courtiers were as weary of Jane as she was of them: Catherine could not conceal her jealousy of one superior to herself in every intellectual and moral qualification, and had the Queen of Navarre lived it is doubtful if the marriage would have been concluded. Jane, however, sickened and died at a moment so opportune for Catherine's schemes that historians have generally attributed her death to poison. There is no evidence beyond suspicion for this charge; vexation is to some high spirits not less fatal than arsenic, and Jane's temper appears, from her own account, to have been subjected to ruder trials than she was able to bear. Margaret, as a daughter-in-law elect, paid a visit to the corpse, and records, very complacently, the amusement she derived from seeing those who hated Jane when living, offering her homage when dead. The jest is a sorry one, but it shows that the princess did not deeply regret getting rid of a rigid mother-in-law.

After a brief delay, serious preparations began to be made for the marriage; the Huguenot leaders came to Court, and were received with kindness by all the members of the royal family, each of whom hoped to employ the Protestant party for its own purposes. The Admiral Coligni, falling into the error which it was natural for an honest

man to make, believed it his duty to pay most attention to the unfortunate king, especially as he was believed to be sincere in proposing an honourable pacification with his Protestant subjects. The king's sincerity has been doubted; it has pleased some writers to attribute the most refined and consummate hypocrisy to a weak monarch, little better than an idiot, whose violent fits of unrestrained passion rendered him incapable either of delaying or concealing any project he had formed. That Charles was anxious for the match appears from his reply to Jane d'Albert, when she expressed some alarm lest the pope might refuse or delay the necessary dispensation: "No, aunt," said the king, "I honour you more than the pope, and I have greater love for my sister than fear of him. If Sir Pope goes on with any of his tricks, I'll take Peggy with my own hand, and have her married in full conventicle."

The complaint which Charles made respecting his ministers to young Teligny, is a conclusive proof that he was disposed to place confidence in his new Protestant friends, and that he was weary of the creatures that his mother had placed round him. "Shall I speak freely to you, Teligny? I distrust all these people. I suspect the ambition of Tavannes: Vielleville loves nothing but good wine: Cossè is a miser: Montmorency is a mere sportsman: Count de Retz is a Spaniard at heart: the rest of the courtiers are mere beasts; my

secretaries are traitors, so that I cannot tell which way to turn." In fact, Charles had so far come over to the Huguenots, that he took an interest in their success against the Spaniards in Flanders, and personally requested the Duke of Bouillon to take a share in the expedition.

Catherine at first viewed this change in her son's policy, if not with approbation, at least without alarm; and she exerted herself to have the marriage speedily concluded. Henry of Navarre came to Paris, and was introduced to Margaret; each viewed the other with indifference, and, indeed, with a little mutual dislike,—feelings in which time subsequently made no change. The reluctance of the parties, though sufficiently obvious, had no influence on those who contrived the union. Catherine saw that she could not manage her son-in-law by means of his wife, but she also discovered that he might be brought within the sphere of her control by a mistress, and she soon appointed one of the Amazonian band to that eminent post. But while she was trying to secure her power over the king of Navarre, she unexpectedly found that her interest with the king of France was exposed to imminent peril. Coligny endeavoured to stimulate Charles to assume his proper authority as a monarch, and take the reins of government from the hands of his mother and brother; the other Protestant chiefs strenuously supported this course of policy, and, in addition,

endeavoured to procure for the Duke of Alençon an efficient share in the administration. Charles was too weak-minded, and too easily excited to keep a secret: one day, coming away from the admiral, he met his mother, who asked him with a sneer, "What have you learned from your long conversation with the grey-beards?"—"Madame," he replied, with a fearful oath, "I have learned that you and my brother are the worst enemies of me and my kingdom." Catherine, alarmed for herself and her favourite son, immediately summoned a council of her adherents, and from that hour Coligny's fate was sealed.

All these intrigues were veiled by a series of masques, shows, and entertainments, in which magnificence and absurdity were pretty equally combined. An allegorical masque given at the *Salle de Bourbon* received from subsequent events an interpretation which was not originally intended, and, as it has been sadly misrepresented by commentators, we shall abstract the cotemporary description.

On the right hand of the hall was a scenic representation of Paradise, the entrance into which was defended by three knights representing the king and his brothers. On the opposite side of the hall appeared Hell, fully garrisoned by imps, devils, and tormentors, shouting, ringing bells, and turning a huge wheel, designed to represent some instrument of torture, perhaps

an anticipation of the tread-mill, now so common in hells upon earth. Between Paradise and Hell a river was represented on which Charon plied his ferry-boat, and kept open the communication between saints and sinners. The Elysian fields were behind Paradise, they were represented by a revolving machine, laid out in gardens, tenanted by twelve nymphs, the most beautiful ladies of the court. Troops of knights-errant came in succession to force an entrance into Paradise, but they were all overthrown by the defenders of the gates, tumbled neck and crop into Charon's boat, ferried over to hell, and delivered into the custody of the devils.

When all the knights-errant had been overthrown, Mercury and Cupid descended from the ceiling, on a gigantic cock, which from the equivoque of its Latin name represented the French nation. The two deities sung and danced for the amusement of the poor prisoners in Hell; after which Cupid gave them a moral lecture on chastity, and Mercury preached a sermon on honesty, by which the audience was greatly edified. When the deities had finished their discourses they again mounted the cock, and ascended to heaven through the ceiling. No sooner were they gone than the guardian knights threw open the gates of Paradise, led the ladies from the Elysian fields, into the centre of the hall, and proposed that they should have a dance.

The ladies represented that heaven did not afford a sufficiency of partners, and requested permission to go to Hell for a supply. The knights yielded to their supplication, the prisoners were set loose; angels, knights, and devils capered away gallantly, until some fireworks, reserved for the close of the entertainment, accidentally exploded, and drove the entire company from the hall, terrified by the flame and half stifled by the smoke.—Such was the entertainment which was subsequently described as an indirect menace of the fate of the Huguenots, unless they consented to conciliate the king by abandoning their creed; the reader can easily judge how far any such meaning, or any meaning whatever, can be inferred from the exhibition.

The marriage followed soon after this masque, and was a still greater farce. Margaret dwells with great complacency on the splendour of her dress, the magnificence of her train, and the homage she received from the spectators. She, however, omits to record the occurrences at the altar, a deficiency which we are enabled to supply from other authentic sources. When asked "would she accept the bridegroom for her wedded husband?" the princess "stood mute of malice" and the ceremony was awkwardly interrupted. The king, her brother, grew impatient; he rushed behind her, grasped her rudely by the hair, and forcibly bent her head forward so as to make

a more awkward bow than any the court had ever witnessed. This compulsory nod was received as a sign of assent, and the ceremony was speedily brought to a conclusion.

We must now turn from the farce to the tragedy, of which the first act was the assassination of Coligny. It was known that he had recommended the deposition of the Duke of Anjou from his office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and that the king had shown a strong inclination to comply with the suggestion. Catherine and her favourite saw that no time was to be lost; an assassin was hired, and posted behind the curtain of a window which Coligny was sure to pass on his way to the Louvre, and, in order to conceal more effectually the real authors of the crime, the window selected was in an apartment belonging to a retainer of the Duke of Guise. Coligny appeared, the assassin fired, the Admiral fell, severely but not mortally wounded, while his friends forced the doors of the house from which the shot was fired. This had been foreseen and a fleet horse was ready at a back gate, by which the assassin escaped, but, unluckily for his employers, he left his gun behind him, and it was soon recognised as the property of the Duke of Anjou.

At first, the suspicions both of the king and the Protestant leaders were directed against the Duke of Guise, who narrowly escaped falling a

victim to their first burst of mistaken vengeance. The gun, however, afforded a clue to the real authors of the plot, and the Protestants, forgetting their own aphorism, that "it is not safe to bark unless one is ready to bite," gave vent to imprudent rage and threatenings, relying on the firmness of the king, and the support of the Duke of Alençon. Catherine, finding herself in greater danger than ever, had recourse to her secret council, and the result of their deliberations was the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Two members of this infernal council have left us an account of their deliberations, from which it appears that this atrocity was adopted hastily and almost without discussion, and that the execution of the plot was hurried, because the parties doubted their own strength of resolution. The military preparations were made without exciting suspicion, as the Duke of Anjou had the command of the army, and Catherine undertook the task of procuring the king's assent, which was not obtained until a short time before the work of murder commenced. All parties agree that the unfortunate Charles gave his sanction to the massacre with great reluctance; but that after he had once consented, he evinced a sharper thirst for blood than any of the original conspirators. His feelings were expressed in his well-known exclamation; "Let not one live to reproach me."

No words can give such a fearful picture of

Catherine's sanguinary determination as the simple record which Margaret has left of her mother's behaviour to herself on that fatal evening. "Suspected by the Huguenots because I was a Catholic," says the royal authoress, "and equally suspected by the Catholics because my husband was a Huguenot, no one gave me warning of impending danger. I went, as usual, to bid my mother good night, and sat down on a trunk in her chamber, near my sister of Lorraine, whom I perceived to be very sad. When the queen, who was speaking to somebody as I entered, saw me, she peremptorily ordered me to go to bed. As I made my obeisance my sister caught me by the arm, and, bursting into tears, desired me not to stir. When my mother perceived this, she burst into a rage, and forbade my sister to tell me anything."

After Margaret had retired, Catherine once more assembled her secret council; the conclave speedily determined that the Duke of Anjou's soldiers, and the infuriate populace of Paris, should be let loose on the Protestants that very night, and that the tolling of the bell of St. Germain d' Auxerrois should be the signal for commencing the slaughter. She then went with the Duke of Anjou to the king, and declared to him that nothing but his immediate consent to the massacre could save him from destruction; she declared that the Catholics, irritated by his concessions to

the heretics, had resolved to deprive him of the crown; and that the Huguenots, on the other hand, were bent on the destruction of the royal family. Her representations were supported by her secret council, the members of which were Henry, Duke of Anjou, the Sieur de Nevers, the Marshals de Tavannes and de Retz, and the Chancellor de Biragne. A reluctant assent, which soon changed into ardent support, was obtained from the king, and it was ordered that all things should be in readiness by the second hour after midnight.

We shall now extract from the Duke of Anjou's own narrative, a description of the king's miserable condition on that fatal morning:—

"After having slept for about two hours, the king, and the queen my mother, went into the porter's lodge, near the ball-court at the Louvre, and found a room looking out into the courts whence we could see the beginning of the execution. We had not been there long, deliberating on the probable consequences of so fearful an enterprise, which we had not yet sufficiently considered, when we heard a pistol-shot, without being able to tell whence the sound came, or whether anybody was hurt. This circumstance so alarmed us all three, and suggested to us such apprehensions of the fearful disturbances which were about to commence, that we sent a gentleman to M. de Guise, to command him to return to his lodgings,

and attempt nothing against the admiral. These orders would have stopped the entire affair, because it had been determined that nothing should be done elsewhere until the admiral was slain. The gentlemen soon returned with the information that the countermand had come too late, for that the admiral was already dead, and that the executions had been commenced in various parts of the city. We, therefore, returned to our first resolution, and allowed matters to take their course."

Let us now turn to Margaret, and give her own account of her share in these horrors:—"An hour after dawn, as I lay asleep, a man thundered at my door, shouting 'Navarre, Navarre!' My nurse, supposing that it was my husband (who had gone out a few minutes before) ran and opened the door. It was a gentleman, named Legan, bleeding from two severe wounds, and pursued by four soldiers of the guard, who pursued him into my apartment. He flung himself on my bed for safety; I threw myself out at the side of the bed, and he followed, grasping me convulsively. I did not know the man; I could not tell whether he came to insult me or not, or whether the soldiers were attacking him or me. We both struggled, shouted out, and were equally frightened. At length Heaven sent M. de Nançay, the captain of the guard, to my relief, who, though he pitied me, could not avoid laughing at my

situation. He rebuked the soldiers for their indiscretion, and granted me the life of the poor man, whom I kept concealed in my closet until all danger was over. Having changed my night-dress, which was stained with blood, I heard from M. de Nançay what was passing; he assured me that my husband was safe in the king's apartments, and would receive no injury. Throwing a loose cloak over me, he led me to the rooms of my sister of Lorraine, which I reached, more dead than alive. As I passed through the ante-chamber, the doors of which were open, a gentleman, named Bourse, flying from the soldiers who pursued him, was stabbed with a pike, when within three paces of me. I fell fainting into the arms of M. de Nançay, and thought that one blow had pierced us both. When I recovered, I went into the small room where my sister lay. Whilst I was there, M. de Miessans, first gentleman in waiting to the king my husband, and Armagnac, his valet de chambre, came to beg that I would save their lives. I went and threw myself on my knees before my mother and brother, and at length obtained my request."

We need not depict the general horrors of this terrible morning; they are recorded in every history of the period. A very few days only had elapsed, when the principal actors discovered that their fearful crime was a very perplexing blunder. Catherine found herself thrown into the power of

the princes of Lorraine; her son, Henry, had reason to fear that his participation in the massacre might deprive him of the crown of Poland, at the moment when it was placed within his reach; and Charles IX. discovered that he had been the passive instrument of guilt to forward enterprises directed against his own authority. The Guises loudly declared that either too much or too little had been done, and that the future safety of religion required that Margaret should be divorced from the King of Navarre. Catherine at first yielded to this suggestion, and proposed to her daughter to sue for her divorce, on grounds which cannot be quoted with propriety, though Margaret has recorded the conversation at full length in her memoirs.

The war of the Huguenots had been, from the beginning, as much a political as a religious struggle; in France, the principles of the Reformation were adopted chiefly by the nobles, and were never popular with the masses. The evangelical party was also the aristocratical party, and its leaders fought for the maintenance of their feudal privileges far more eagerly than for the protection of their creed. When the war was renewed after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the claims of the nobility against the increased power of the crown were brought more prominently forward than ever, without, however, any abatement of the hypocrisy, which glossed over

these selfish interests with the hallowed name of religion. Rochelle gave the signal for revolt; Charles IX. vainly offered terms to his subjects, through the virtuous De la Noue, and when these were rejected, sent an army against the city. The leader of the royal forces was Henry, Duke of Anjou; and under him were the Duke of Alençon, the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condè, and the Viscount Turenne, afterwards Duke of Bouillon. These princes had already forgotten the horrors of St. Bartholomew in intrigues and dissipation. Henry of Anjou and Henry of Navarre lived openly with mistresses, said to have been recommended to them by Catherine; Margaret had permitted the beautiful La Mole to declare himself her knight, and Alençon, who was about to renew his courtship of the English Queen, Elizabeth, thought that the best means of reaching her virgin heart was to gain for himself the character of a successful rake. While these precious leaders were on the road to Rochelle, they made a short delay at Orleans, where they indulged in such extravagant dissipation, that they felt the effects of it during the entire campaign.

During the protracted siege, Alençon, Navarre, and Condè continually plotted against Catherine and the Duke of Anjou; at one time they resolved on flying together into England, obtaining from Elizabeth such supplies as would enable

them to rally the discontented throughout France, and raising Alençon to the post of lieutenant-general, and guardian of the kingdom. The chief contriver of this plot was the Viscount de Turenne, then a wild and imprudent youth. His folly was curiously manifested by his visiting the Duke of Anjou, when a letter was concealed in his bosom, which would have revealed the whole conspiracy. Henry actually discovered and seized the letter, but Turenne snatched it from his hand, declaring that it was a billet-doux from a lady of rank, whose husband was then in the army. La Noue dissuaded the princes from this desperate step, by showing them the chances of their scheme being disavowed by Elizabeth.

The royal army was wasted by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence before Rochelle; the elevation of the Duke of Anjou to the throne of Poland afforded Catherine a pretext for withdrawing the army, and a new pacification was made with the Protestants, which deceived nobody, because it was distrusted by all.

A new series of intrigues commenced at Paris, in which Margaret acted a prominent part. She hated her brother Henry more fiercely than she had ever loved him, and bestowed a more than sisterly affection on Alençon, or, as we must for the future call him, Anjou, as he succeeded to that title when Henry obtained the throne of Poland. The object of the conspirators was to

procure for the new Duke of Anjou the post of lieutenant-general, and the eventual succession to the crown, as Charles IX. was fast sinking into his dishonoured grave, from the united effects of disease and remorse. Catherine discovered a plot designed to frustrate all the labours of her life; she secured the persons of the conspirators, and had some of their agents put to death. To punish Margaret, her mother made the handsome La Mole one of her victims; with his head on the block, the unfortunate lover dictated a tender farewell to the Queen of Navarre; she proved the sincerity of her love by having the head embalmed, and her fearlessness of consequences, by procuring Cardinal du Perron to write an elegy on his death, in which La Mole is compared to a hyacinth whose head is broken off by an irritated zephyr, the said zephyr being a metaphor for the anger of Catherine, which had a far greater resemblance to a tornado.

At this crisis, Charles IX. died. His end was hastened by poison, according to all his cotemporaries; but there is a great discrepancy respecting the person by whom it was administered; those who appear to have had the best opportunity of knowing the real state of the case, declare that he was the victim of an Italian nobleman named Gondi, whose wife he had seduced, and then boasted of his success, in the presence of the husband.

Catherine's abilities secured Henry III. a peace-

ful succession to the throne: Poland lost him with joy, and France gained him with sorrow. Margaret was particularly grieved at his return, and not without reason, for he was aware of her intrigues in his absence, and was not very scrupulous in his means of vengeance. To add to her perplexities, she found that Anjou, the brother for whom she had laboured so much, was faithless to her, to himself, and his cause. She was once so enraged by his perfidy, as to declare that, "if dishonour could be banished from the world, he had a sufficient stock to supply the whole globe." The first effect of the new king's wrath was to set Margaret at variance with her husband about a mistress. Anjou and Navarre both courted Madame de Sauve, and the latter was persuaded that Margaret, influenced by jealousy, exerted herself to ensure the success of her brother. Margaret took extraordinary pains to refute this calumny; she even supplicated the duke of Anjou to abandon the lady to her husband, and threatened to abandon his party, if he refused to comply. Henry of Navarre was not grateful for these exertions, probably because he attributed them, at least partially, to Margaret's having found a new lover in Hussy d'Amboise, who had effaced the remembrance of La Mole.

Wearied of the captivity in which they were held, the Duke of Anjou, and subsequently the king of Navarre, made their escape from the

court; Henry III, in his first burst of rage, placed guards over Margaret, an indignity which she attributed to the advice of Guast, one of her brother's favourite minions. She was soon liberated; but she did not forget the insult; Guast fell by the hands of assassins; and De Thou positively asserts that they were hired by Margaret. In the mean time the King of Navarre had returned to the Protestant religion, and this was made a pretext for the further detention of his queen in Paris, an arrangement to which she was not much opposed.

Henry III, having been reconciled to the Duke of Anjou by means of Catherine, placed himself at the head of the League which had been organised for the destruction of the Huguenots, and believed that she had accomplished a masterstroke of policy by wresting this association from the Guises, who had framed it originally to advance their own designs. Margaret was unwilling to continue at court after her brother had declared war against her husband; but as she was unwilling to remain idle, she undertook to procure the kingdom of the Netherlands for her brother of Anjou, and, under pretence of visiting the Spas, made a tour in Flanders. Had Anjou possessed the courage and address of his sister, this enterprise would have been crowned with success, but his heart failed him at the decisive moment; he remained in Paris until the time for

action was past, and Margaret had some difficulty in escaping with safety to France.

Weary of the war which he had provoked, Henry III. made peace with the Huguenots, and his namesake of Navarre; Catherine, under the pretence of escorting her daughter, paid her son-in-law a visit at Nerac, and succeeded in having his queen formally installed in all her rights. All the extravagance, frivolity, luxury, and gallantry of Paris were now imitated on a small scale at Nerac. Margaret actually became the confidant of her husband's amours, and he showed equal forbearance towards her indiscretions. About this time she lost her lover, Hussy d'Amboise, who was assassinated in Paris by an injured husband; his memory was not less honoured than that of Mole; the Queen of Navarre wrote a poem on his death, entitled, "The Spirit of Lysis bidding a last adieu to Flora," which evinced more warmth of attachment than poetic spirit.

The only drawback on Margaret's contentment at Nerac was religion. She was a devotee of the most ardent cast; her sanctity always increased in the same proportion as her sins, and, consequently, its amount at this time must have been inordinate. Some of the Huguenots endeavoured to prevent the celebration of mass in her private chapel, and she found her husband unwilling to displease his subjects by openly permitting the use of the Romish ceremonial. This difficulty was

overcome by her procuring for her husband a young mistress named Fosseuse, who grateful to Margaret for such promotion, induced the King of Navarre to yield in all things to her wishes. An unexpected event deranged this harmony; Fosseuse became pregnant, and thus betrayed her shame to the court; her royal lover suspected the queen of increasing the scandal, and reproached her so bitterly, that she resolved to accept the invitation of her mother and brother to return to Paris.

The aspect of affairs had greatly changed in the court; Henry III, wholly governed by his minions, studiously neglected his mother, whose whole life had been devoted to the advancement of his interests, and Catherine was forced to look for support in her ambitious schemes to her youngest son, the Duke of Anjou, whose hopes she had frustrated when he was Duke of Alençon. Margaret, on her return, finding herself excluded from political affairs, abandoned herself to intrigues of a different kind; and so dissolute were her manners, that they excited the indignation even of this profligate court. She was most annoyed by the sarcastic jests of the king, who lost no opportunity of assailing her in the most bitter and indecent manner, not only in his conversation but in his correspondence. Suspecting that a despatch, sent by Henry III. to the Duke de Joyeuse, then at Rome, contained some of

these scandals, Margaret employed four of her friends to seize the messenger. The unfortunate gentleman was murdered, and all the documents delivered to Margaret.

Henry III. was justly indignant at this insult to his royal authority; he attacked his sister in the open court, reproached her for having had a child by James de Harlay Chauvalon, declared that the ladies with whom she associated were pernicious vermin, and commanded her to return to her husband. It may be incidentally mentioned that the accusation was true; the child lived, and subsequently became a Capuchin, as notorious for profligate intrigue as his mother.

A few days after this scandalous scene, Margaret set out on her journey to Nerac; but when she had gone a distance of about four leagues, her carriage was stopped by a captain of the royal guards, who searched her person and baggage, seized some of her domestics and two ladies of her train, and carried them off to the Bastille. It is a sad proof of the state of society in France to add, that the officer struck the two ladies several times, and called them the most opprobrious names in the presence of his soldiers. In their prison they were interrogated by the king himself, who was not over particular in the delicacy of the terms he employed.

The fame of this transaction soon reached Nerac. Henry of Navarre was reluctant to receive a

wife thus publicly dishonoured, and sent ambassadors to remonstrate with Henry of France on the subject. We possess very full reports of this extraordinary discussion, but the particulars are too disgusting to be narrated. One scene alone deserves our notice. D'Aubigné, the king of Navarre's minister, declared to Henry III. that his master was obliged to resign the honour of his alliance; the French monarch replied, "Go back to the king your master, since you dare to give him such an appellation, and tell him if he adopts such a course, I will place a burthen on his shoulders that would break the back of the Grand Signor. Tell him that;—away with you,—he wants the company of such as you." D'Aubigné instantly answered "Sire, he has lived and increased in honour under the burthen with which you menace him; do him justice and he will offer to your majesty the homage of his life, his property and his subjects; but his honour, Sire, belongs not to you, nor to any prince alive, and that he will not resign while his hand can grasp one foot of steel." As D'Aubigné left the presence he encountered the queen-mother, who laboured hard to mollify him, declaring that "the scoundrels and wretches who had insulted her daughter should be put to death." D'Aubigné replied, "Madam, Diana could not be propitiated by the sacrifice of hogs; more noble heads are necessary for expiation."

Notwithstanding these declarations, Margaret was received by her husband in the end; he had reason to fear that in case of a divorce, her hand might be sought by a Spanish prince, who in spite of the Salic law, would become a dangerous competitor for the succession to the crown of France. But the Navarrese were not disposed to submit to the degradation of having such a queen; they treated her with open contempt and insult, which she was no longer able to resist, as she was deprived of the support of her favourite brother, the Duke of Anjou. That worthless prince fell a victim to his dissipations, June 10th. 1584, having, as a cotemporary said, contrived to cram a century of crime, into thirty-one years of existence.

Weary of her sojourn at Nerac, Margaret went to Agen, which formed part of her appanage, and won great popularity by affecting an outrageous zeal for the Catholic religion. She even proclaimed herself an apostle of intolerance, levied an army to exterminate the Huguenots in her district, and, to render the farce complete, appointed her avowed lovers the commanders of this new crusade. The citizens of Agen soon grew weary of their pious mistress; they opened their gates to a royal army, and Margaret with difficulty escaped, by getting up behind her latest lover Lignerac, and taking the road to Auvergne. She was now more dissolute than ever; she changed

her lovers so frequently that the mere list of their names would occupy several pages, and at length the Marquis de Canillac deemed it his duty to make her a prisoner. He only added himself to the number of her lovers,—to borrow the expression of one of Margaret's clerical panegyrists—"the marquis thought to triumph over her, but the mere display of her ivory arm enabled her to triumph over him." She lived publicly with the marquis in his castle of Usson, and continued there during the long wars of the league, attending to nothing but the gratification of her passions.

The murder of her first lover, the Duke of Guise, by her brother Henry III, did not disturb her tranquillity, but it was followed by circumstances which menaced her interests. Catherine had not participated in this crime, and her son, who now spurned her influence, had used her as the unconscious instrument for bringing the family of Lorraine into his clutches. She never recovered from the bitter reproach addressed to her by the Cardinal de Bourbon, when she went to visit him, during the illness which grief for the slaughter of his relatives occasioned, "Ah, madam, it was you that enticed us to these shambles!" She had lived in the midst of political intrigues for half a century; during thirty years she had laboured with every prospect of success to obtain kingdoms for each of her sons; the

crowns of France, Poland, Belgium and England seemed, for a time, to be within her grasp, and now, in the seventy-second year of her age, she discovered that she had waded through crime and slaughter, only to attain disappointment in the end. Her last and dearest son Henry III. was hopelessly childless, and her detested son-in-law, Henry of Navarre was heir to the crown of France, with every prospect of speedy succession. The ingratitude of her son, who began to treat her with marked neglect, and even to reproach her with the guilt she had incurred for his sake, completed her mortification; she sunk under the blow (Jan. 5th. 1589), but even on her death-bed, she exhibited a portion of vengeful passion, for she disinherited Margaret, to whose misconduct she attributed the enmity of the king of Navarre. To avoid any further reference to this monster of womankind, we may mention here that Margaret subsequently contested the validity of the will, and after a long process succeeded in setting it aside. With whimsical consistency she celebrated this decision by a public thanksgiving, going in procession to the church of the Cordeliers, where a solemn *Te Deum* was performed by that worthy fraternity.

When Henry of Navarre became Henry IV. of France, he took the necessary steps to procure a divorce, to which Margaret consented, as she was allowed to retain the title of queen, and very

large estates; her debts, which were of immense amount, were paid at the same time; and so far was she from deeming herself ill-treated, that she became the most faithful partisan of her former husband; she revealed to him several plots that were formed for his destruction, bitterly bewailed his death, and manifested an eager desire to take vengeance on his assassins. In 1605 Margaret became weary of her seclusion at Usson, and obtained leave to fix her residence at Paris; the king stipulated that she should pay some little regard to decorum, but he asked an impossibility; her open profligacy was the scandal of the court, and yet she was surrounded by artists, poets, and men of letters, who hailed her as the Venus Urania of the seventeenth century. One of these flatterers discovered that the anagram of her name, "Marguerite de Valois," formed the address to the Virgin Mary, "Salve Virgo Mater Dei," and this extraordinary blasphemy was celebrated as the perfection of witty compliment.

Undismayed by the disgrace of divorce, and by the general outcry raised against her immorality, Margaret took a share in all the public solemnities of the time, even in those which were evidences of her own degradation. She assisted at the coronation of her successor, Marie de Medicis; at the baptism of Henry's third son, Gaston, to whom she was sponsor; at the declaration of the majority of Louis XIII., and at the opening of the

States General, in 1614. Her devotion was as ostentatious as her gallantry; she never missed mass on Sundays and holidays; she was as great a sermon-hunter as any in modern times, and her attachment to a popular preacher was scarcely less than that to a favoured lover. A celebrated Jesuit, Suffrent, attacked her from the pulpit on the impropriety of her dress; "There is not," said he, "any little coquette in Paris who does not expose her bosom in the fashion of Queen Margaret." Nor was this her only mortification; when she reproached one of her ladies for some error, she was answered, "Madame, we are all subject to faults; had you behaved as you ought, your residence would not be here, but in the Louvre."

But reproaches were wasted on the divorced queen; the quarrels and jealousies of her paramours supplied the city of Paris with endless scandals; one of them, Daté, was stabbed by another, Vermond, whom he had supplanted. Margaret was looking out from a window when the assassin was arrested; "Kill the scoundrel," she exclaimed, "here are my garters for you; strangle him on the spot." This strange scene occurred after she had attained her fifty-fourth year.

Margaret was one of those numerous persons who,

> By acts of piety compound for evil,
> And give to God the leavings of the devil.

As she grew old, she heard several masses every day, performed rigid penances, visited hospitals, founded religious houses, and bestowed the tenth of her income in charity; but she did not resign her sensual and luxurious habits; the mornings were given to devotion, and the evenings to profligacy. She died, at length, from the effects of dissipation, March 27th, 1615, leaving no one to lament her but her creditors, who had very good reason to hold her in mournful memory.

This depraved woman possessed a greater share of accomplishments than any princess among her cotemporaries. She had great taste for music, painting, and the fine arts; she was generous to men of letters; and her own compositions, both in poetry and prose, entitle her to a very high rank among noble and royal authors. We have already given some extracts from her memoirs, and shall now add a translated specimen of her poetic powers. It is the elegy which she composed on the death of Daté, whose murder has been described in the preceding page. Its poetic merit must, of course, not plead any excuse for the perversion and prostitution of talent it displays.

Oh, Atys, master of my heart,
  Atys, my last and dearest love,
Can wasting time or Death's keen dart,
  Thy image from my soul remove?
May I not hope, amid my pain,
To see thy lovely form again?

Shall those bright eyes of living light
Be evermore by darkness veiled?
Shall our fond love in endless night
And dull decay remain conceal'd?—
Shall faith, shall hope, shall mutual trust
Crumble away to senseless dust?

The tears that trickle down my cheek,
And fall like rain-drops on thy tomb,
My loud lament, my bitter shriek,
Attest how deep I feel thy doom;—
Since pleasures must be bought so dear,
Pleasures are rendered pains by fear.

As thus I raise my mournful song,
The echoing friends who stand around
The melancholy notes prolong,
But none—oh, none of them are found
To feel like me; for I alone
Thy generous worth have fully known.

I seek in vain to ease my grief
By searching for thy semblance here;
For woe, perhaps, would feel relief,
If but thy image could appear;—
But beauty, grace, and truth like thine,
Shall ne'er again in one combine.

For the early life of Margaret, and the state of the French court at the time of her birth, our chief authorities have been the Memoirs of Matthieu, Castelnau, the Duke of Bouillon, and Brantôme. Her own Memoirs, Sancy's Confession, Cheverney, and L'Etoile, have furnished the par-

ticulars of her life previous to her marriage. The history of that event, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, with which it was associated, has been taken from Margaret, the Marshal de Tavannes, the account dictated by Henry III., when King of Poland, and the Memoirs of La Noue, compared with the narratives of the cotemporary historians.

The remainder of the sketch has been derived from the Letters of Busbec, D'Aubigné's History, the Life of Duplessis Mornay, Matthieu, and Dupleix. No anecdote has been taken from the *Divorce Satyrique* which has not been found recorded by other authorities; and among those which confirm every scandal mentioned, we have to enumerate the "Eulogy on Queen Margaret," by Father Hilarion de Coste, and a work published by a lawyer, named Corbin, in 1605, entitled "Queen Margaret; in which are described the Virtues of that Princess, with a summary account of the Illustrious Ladies of Antiquity." These eulogies were not ironical; the monk and the lawyer were a pair of bigots, who accepted Margaret's zeal as an atonement for all her offences; but even their panegyrics are tame, when compared with that of Brantôme. He enters into an elaborate argument to prove that the Salic law ought to have been repealed in her favour, dwelling at great length on the impolicy of excluding Beauty and Pleasure from the throne of France,

both of which he thought would have been united with Wisdom, in Margaret's administration. Not satisfied with a long dissertation on this point, he vents his dissatisfaction in verses, with a translation of which we shall conclude:—

Hers was the right o'er lovely France to reign,
Direct its morals, and its laws ordain:
Pleasure would then have held perpetual sway
And ruled as in her brother's happy day.
Fortune forbade.—But oh! had Fortune right
Towards us all to show such cruel spite?
Nature had ne'er produced so fair a face,
So fine a form this envied land to grace;
But spiteful Fortune shrouds her from our sight;
And thus in life the good and ill unite.

CHAPTER II.

ROBERT DUDLEY,

EARL OF LEICESTER.

"THE glorious days of good Queen Bess" form part of the political creed and political litany of every Englishman; for it is the character of the Saxon race to be satisfied with a moderate share of glory for the people, and a still more moderate portion of goodness in the sovereign. It must, however, be confessed that Elizabeth's reign occupies the precise place in English history that is best calculated to give lustre to its merits, and to throw its defects into obscurity. Her immediate predecessors had done much to render the name of royalty odious, and that of England contemptible; her grandfather was a peddling usurer, her father a brutal sensualist, her brother a weak-minded boy, and her sister was "Bloody Queen Mary," a name which saves all trouble of further description. Elizabeth was still more honourably contrasted with her successors; the Stuarts contrived to render themselves and their

subjects a by-word, mockery, and reproach among nations; under their dynasty, the sovereigns and the people were bribed by paupers, bullied by cowards, and duped by idiots. If Elizabeth's reign did not bestow much glory, it at least afforded the only suspension of disgrace which England enjoyed under the whole of the Tudors and the Stuarts; if the Queen herself was not quite a paragon of perfection, she certainly did not fall below the ordinary level of humanity,—she did not sink St. James's below St. Giles's.

Though Elizabeth was not governed by her favourites, whom she treated more as toys than lovers; yet the policy of her reign was seriously modified by her spirit of coquetry, and the greatest defect in her court was, that she had no secretary for amorous intrigues, as her passion for flirtations continually interrupted state affairs, and gave the grave Cecil more perplexity and annoyance than the complicated politics of Christendom. The lives of Leicester and Essex form essential parts of the history of her reign; they were the heroes of the green-room, though not always successful on the stage.

Leicester's biography has been written only by libellers and panegyrists; it is scarcely possible to find a single event in his life which has not been the subject of more controversy than No. 90 of the Oxford Tracts. The disputes begin before he was born; they ascend to his great-grandfather,

who is described by one party as a carpenter, and by the other as a nobleman; while a third, acting as umpire, proposes to reconcile both theories by making him a noble timber-merchant. However the dispute may be decided, the jest, founded on the first theory, is too good to be lost; it was said that "he was the son of a duke, the brother of a king, the grandson of an esquire, and the great-grandson of a carpenter; that the carpenter was the only honest man in the family, and the only one who died in his bed." On the other hand, we think that had Edmund Dudley, Leicester's grandfather, been of such mean descent, he would have been mentioned by Perkin Warbeck in his proclamation against Henry VII., accusing him of raising men of low birth above the ancient families of the kingdom, and have been joined in the same category as Empson, Fox, and Bray.

Empson and Dudley, "lawyers in science and privy-councillors in authority," were the agents of Henry VII.'s tyrannical rapacity, and the victims for purchasing Henry VIII.'s early popularity. "Restitution" would have been more beneficial to those who had suffered by the corruption of these judges; but it is a wise maxim of the English law, that compensation to the injured is best effected by giving him the expense and trouble of a prosecution, and the satisfaction of adding the criminal's property to the royal exchequer. The old solution of difficulties was, to cut the Gordian

knot; the English improvement was, to form it into a running noose, and let crime and criminal drop together. Henry VIII. was an admirable commentator on this code of English morality; he sent Empson and Dudley to the block, as the proper means of satisfying a generation of block-heads; and his complete success is a proof of the wisdom of his proceedings.

It is not generally known that Edmund Dudley hoped to save his life by literary exertions; he wrote, while in prison, a book called "The Tree of the Commonwealth," and transmitted it to the king; it is doubtful whether it ever reached its destination; but, to use Bishop Bonner's jest, "this tree of knowledge did not become a tree of life," and Henry, as a purchase-money of his subjects' love, paid down the heads of Empson and Dudley on the scaffold at Tower Hill.

When blood is spilled it becomes corrupted; but English law improves upon this physiological fact, and declares that it becomes corrupt at the very instant that the peccant humours begin to display the symptoms that require blood-letting. Hence the families of traitors are always attainted in blood, and all their claims to property arising from consanguinity become null and void. The Dudleys were fortunate enough to have their blood medicated by the same practitioners who had rendered it corrupt; two or three years after Edmund Dudley had been beheaded, his children

were restored to the privileges of humanity, and their blood rendered as pure as that of their neighbours. John Dudley, the eldest son of the late minister, was but eight years old when his father fell; his mother was the heiress to the ancient barony of Lisle, and the reversal of the attainder put him in possession of a fair estate: his education, under the care of Edmund Guildford, one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the age, rendered him so engaging, that he became the favourite of the king's favourite, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. After the death of that nobleman, Dudley found a powerful patron in Wolsey, and while he shared the good fortunes of the cardinal he escaped from being involved in his fall. Cromwell was equally attached to this lucky courtier, and when he fell, Dudley not only suffered no injury, but succeeded to a great portion of his influence with the king. As a reward for following Henry in all his changes of creeds, councils, and wives, Dudley, before the close of the reign, had been created Viscount Lisle, a knight of the garter, and Lord High Admiral of England; his valour had been so highly approved in the wars with Scotland and France, that he was deemed one of the best military commanders in the nation, and he was one of the sixteen executors nominated by Henry to administer the government during the reign of Edward VI.

The council of executors met before Henry was interred; they found a clause in the king's will requiring them "to make good all that he had promised in any manner of way;" and strangely enough, they discovered, by the aid of three credible witnesses, that all these unperformed engagements related to certain honours and manors which he intended to bestow upon themselves. It is not easy to discover the author of this "ingenious device;" but we find that these verbal codicils were the bribes by which the Earl of Hertford persuaded his colleagues to concentrate all their authority in his person, to confer upon him the title of Duke of Somerset and the station of Lord Protector of the Realm.

The Viscount Lisle took a leading part in the elevation of Somerset, "animated," say some of his biographers, "by an ardent desire to establish the principles of the Reformation, and prevent the growth of a Popish party under the Chancellor Wriothesley;" but a worthy Protestant of the period asked the simple question—"Doth Job serve God for nought?" for there is a very marked connection between his temporal interests and the cause which he advocated. We have a letter from him to Secretary Paget, complaining that "the lordship of Warwick" was withheld when he was assigned the title with "a stately castle, a goodly park, and a great loyalty;" but he was very willing to accept some trifles in ex-

change; "in case," he says, "they will not condescend to me for the manor of Warwick, as is aforesaid, I pray you, then, let me have Tunbridge and Penshurst, that was the Buckingham's lands in Kent, as parcel of my portion, with Hawlden, that was my own; and whether I have the one or the other, let Canonbury be our portion." These were not very moderate requests from one who had obtained in the preceding reign, as a reward for his adhesion to the King's supremacy, grants of the abbey of Hales Owen in Shropshire, the hospital of Burton Lazars in Leicestershire, the manor of Chosel near Ringstead, in the county of Norfolk, the Hospital of St. Giles's without the bar of the Old Temple, London, and the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell. When estates were granted for the adoption of the right opinion in matters of religion, some advance was made towards determining the problem, "how many acres suffice to make a wiseacre."

After having obtained the earldom of Warwick, Dudley resolved to improve on the course of Richard Nevill, his predecessor in the title, and as the latter had earned the title of kingmaker, so he was ambitious of that of queenmaker. His "'prentice-hand" was tried on the heiress of Scotland, the unfortunate Mary, whom Somerset and Warwick resolved to betroth to Edward VI. The mode of courtship adopted by

these warriors had the merit of originality; they invaded Scotland, laid waste the country with fire and sword, and having thus provoked the hatred of the entire Scottish nation, they returned to England, leaving the regency at Edinburgh to reflect on the expediency of continuing the negotiations for a marriage which had so very favourable a commencement.

This retreat was occasioned by the intrigues of Lord Seymour of Sudely, brother of the Lord Protector, to whom Warwick had resigned the office of Lord High Admiral. This ambitious young man had secretly married the Queen-dowager so soon after the death of the late king, that in the articles of impeachment it is declared, "if she had conceived straight after, it should have been a great doubt whether the child born should have been accounted the late king's or the admiral's." The advantages expected from this match were not obtained, and he forthwith began to pay court to the princess Elizabeth, who seems to have given him more encouragement than she should have granted to the husband of her stepmother. An investigation was ordered by the Protector and the council, which led to some edifying disclosures of the manners of this reformed and reforming age. The reluctant testimony of Mrs. Ashley, the governess of the princess, reveals some curious particulars of the delicacy observed in this very curious courtship.

"THE CONFESSION OF KATHERINE ASHLEY, WHAT FAMILIARITIE SHE HATH KNOWEN BETWEEN THE LORD ADMIRAL AND THE LADY ELIZABETH'S GRACE.

"She saith, at Chelsy, incontinent after he was married to the Queene, he wold come many mornings into the said Lady Elizabeth's chamber, before she was ready, and sometyme before she did rise. And if she were up, he wold bid hir good morrow, and ax how she did, and strike hir upon the back famylearly, and so go forth throgh his lodgings, and sometyme go throgh to the maydens, and play with them, and so go forth. And if she were in hir bed, he wold put open the curtain, and bid hir good morrow. * * *

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"She saith also, that Mr. Ashley, her husband, hath diverse tymes, given this examinate warnyng to take hede, for he did fere that the Lady Elizabeth did bere som affection to my Lord Admiral; she semyd to be well pleased therewith, and sometyme she wold blush when he were spoken of."

Catherine soon after died in childbirth, under circumstances which justified a suspicion that the Admiral had hastened her removal, in order to make room for Elizabeth. But his designs were frustrated by the Lord Protector, who brought him to trial for high treason, and easily procured

his conviction. The warrant for the execution of the Lord Admiral is signed by his brother and by Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, in spite of the ties of relationship and the canons that forbid clergymen to participate in the judgment of blood. Somerset only removed his brother to make room for a more dangerous rival. Warwick, who had urged him to the crime, was the first to take advantage of the unpopularity which it produced; through his influence Somerset was deprived of the Protectorate, compelled to plead guilty to the charges made against him by his enemies, and granted a pardon only on condition of resigning all his offices, forfeiting his goods and chattels, and paying a fine of a thousand pounds out of his landed estates.

Warwick was now lord of the ascendant; to strengthen his position, he brought his sons to the Court, and sought to unite them with the families on whose influence he could depend. Robert Dudley, while yet a mere boy, was introduced into the midst of these dark intrigues. We have no authentic accounts of the date of his birth or the nature of his education; but we find that at his very first appearance he was received as the Master Betty on the political stage of his day, and was rewarded with knighthood for his early performances. At the instigation of King Edward, an attempt was made to cement a union between Warwick and the late Protector, by a marriage

between their children. On the 3rd of June, 1550, Lord Lisle, Warwick's eldest son, was married to the Duke of Somerset's daughter, the parents cordially embraced, and having gone through the farce of reconciliation, became more bitter enemies than they were before.

A more interesting marriage took place on the following day, which King Edward thus records in his Diary: "June 4th, 1550, Sir Robert Dudley, third son to the Earl of Warwick, married Sir John Robsart's daughter, after which marriage there were certain gentlemen that did strive who should first take away a goose's head, which was hanged alive on two cross posts." It would be well if they or others had taken away the heads of all the geese, who, imagining themselves swans, have versified the sad termination of this marriage. Amy, or Anne Robsart, for there is a doubt about the Christian name, was a wealthy heiress, and the large portion she brought tended greatly to strengthen the influence of the Dudleys.

In no long time after these marriages Warwick brought his rival, Somerset, to the scaffold, and succeeded to a greater share of power than ever the Protector had enjoyed. Sir Robert Dudley was appointed one of the six ordinary gentlemen of the king's chamber, a situation which enabled him to act as his father's spy on all Edward's actions; and the Earl of Warwick was rapidly made Lord Steward of the Household, Earl Mar-

shal of England, Lord Warden of the Marches, and finally Duke of Northumberland. The university of Cambridge elected him their Chancellor, in the place of his unfortunate rival, and added to it the dignity of High Steward, two offices which never, before or since, were united in the same person. Northumberland's rapacity was equal to his ambition; in addition to his former grants, he obtained Tynemouth and Alnwick, in Northumberland, the stewardships of the East Riding of Yorkshire, Bernard Castle, in the county of Durham, and extensive estates in the three shires of Somerset, Warwick, and Worcester. He projected, and finally accomplished a marriage between his fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley, and the Lady Jane Grey, grand-daughter to Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, and sister to Henry VIII.; a second between his daughter Catherine and the Lord Hastings, the eldest son of the Earl of Huntingdon; and a third between the Lady Catherine Grey, and the eldest son of his creature, the Earl of Pembroke.

But the security of this enormous structure depended on the feeble and declining health of a boy, who, with the usual obstinacy of the Tudors, disregarded the medicines, regimen, and precautions recommended by his physicians. The prolongation of his life was so obviously necessary to the security of the Dudleys, that we may at once reject the dark hints of his having been poisoned

by Sir Robert, the gentleman of his chamber. Indeed, the rapidity of his decline was one of the chief circumstances that disconcerted the schemes of Northumberland. He prevailed upon the young king to make a will disinheriting his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, and transferring the succession to Lady Jane Grey, the wife of his son Guildford Dudley.

But Northumberland could not have been so weak as to suppose that the allegiance of a nation could be transferred by bequest, like goods and chattels; there is a strong probability that he meditated a far more comprehensive scheme,—that he intended to get the princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to unite the one to his son Ambrose, and the other to his son Robert, and then to select from his three daughters-in-law the queen which would be most acceptable to the nation. It is true that Ambrose and Robert were already married, but the lamentable fate of Amy Robsart shows that this circumstance would not have been an insurmountable impediment to ambition. Until the last moment was come, Northumberland had not finally resolved on the course which he would pursue; he even opened communications with the Princess Mary, and professed himself eager to support her title; but the rapid decline of Edward prevented him from organising a complicated game, and, like a desperate gambler, he resolved to hazard all his fortunes on one cast.

Ambrose and Robert Dudley were by no means disposed to adopt their father's policy; in the following reign they laid proof before the council of their having advocated the cause of the Princess Mary, and joined with reluctance in setting up the lady Jane. But a much more alarming defection was the secretary Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, the most crafty statesman that ever existed; his crooked policy at this crisis has been very ably unravelled by Mr. Tytler, and it is a very admirable example of the art of sailing in troubled waters. As it forms an essential part of the history of the Dudleys, it must not be passed over.

So soon as Cecil caught a glimpse of the dangerous course which Northumberland was about to pursue, "he became very sick, and absented himself from court." That is to say, in a double sense, he showed himself *indisposed.* "A fox's sickness is not very unlike a fox's sleep; no one but a goose would trust either."

Lord Audley, who, like other old women, was an amateur of medicine, deceived by the secretary's pretended sickness, undertook to effect his restoration, and sent Cecil a recipe taken, as he says, from "my book of my wife's hand, proved upon herself and me, both." For the benefit of modern patients, we extract Lord Audley's prescriptions, the first of which is entitled— "*A good medicine for weakness or consumption:*—

Take a sow-pig of nine days' old, flea him and quarter him, and put him in a stillatory, with a handful of spearmint, a handful of red fennel, a handful of liverwort, half a handful of red nepe (turnips), a handful of celery, nine dates clean picked and pared, a handful of great raisins, and pick out the stones, and a quarter of an ounce of mace, and two sticks of good cinnamon, bruised in a mortar; and distil it together with a fair fire; and put it in a glass, and set in the sun nine days; and drink nine spoonfuls of it at once when you list."

The second prescription is entitled "*A compost.*" —"Item. Take a porpin, otherwise called an English hedgehog, and quarter him in pieces, and put the said beast in a still, with these ingredients; item, a quart of red wine, a pint of rose-water, a quart of sugar, cinnamon, and great raisins, one date, and twelve nepe (turnips)."

The man who swallowed this compost might have been what the Irish call "a broth of a boy;" but Cecil had attained that character already, and so he left Lord Audley to carry his sow-pigs and hedgehogs to another market, particularly as Northumberland was by no means disinclined to apply sharper remedies to the pretended sickness. Cecil's next course was, to join the Dudleys openly, and work against them secretly; or, rather, like Fouché in "the hundred days," to open com-

munications with both parties, perform some services to each, and betray whichever was most probable to be the losing cause.

On the 6th of July, 1553, Edward breathed his last; the Dudleys were anxious to keep the event a secret; they closed the gates of the palace, doubled the guards, and cut off, as they hoped, all communication with the country. Their precautions were vain; "a little bird" conveyed the information to the Princess Mary on the 7th, as she was coming to London, in consequence of a summons sent from her deceased brother; she at once turned back, and thus escaped being made prisoner.

So formidable was the power of the Dudleys esteemed, that the Emperor Charles V, who had protected his relative during Edward's reign, and saved her from the dangers with which she was menaced by the more violent of the Protestant party, wrote to Mary, recommending her to compromise with Northumberland, and to offer him full security in rank, wealth, and office. But the die was already cast; Northumberland had seized the Tower, with the royal treasure and munitions of war, his sons had levied troops, better equipped than any which Mary was likely to obtain, and her letter, received on the 9th, was answered by the council with scorn and insult. On the same day, Lady Jane Grey heard, for the first time, of the high destiny designed for her, and with un-

disguised and unfeigned reluctance, submitted to be proclaimed a queen.

Northumberland had scarcely taken this decisive step, when he found himself pressed by difficulties on all sides; he suspected the council in London, he feared the increasing strength of Mary in the country; he could not watch his colleagues and command the army at the same time; and, after wasting three precious days in indecision, he at length preferred the field to the cabinet, but fettered himself by insisting that the council should give precise orders for his route and march. His colleagues, with consummate craft, assigned him short journeys; for they knew that every hour's delay added to Mary's strength.

Cecil now became the chief agent in the intrigues for the ruin of the cause to which he professed attachment; he prevailed upon several lords of the council to make preparations for seizing Windsor Castle; he made arrangements for intercepting the reinforcements which he sent to Northumberland, and he supplied the faction with an excuse for quitting the Tower, "the air of which was unfavourable to their health." No sooner were the lords of the council safe in the city, than they sent for the lord mayor, and proclaimed Mary. On the 13th of July, the duke left the council, wearying Heaven with prayers for his safety; on the 20th of the same month came out their proclamation, commanding him to

lay down his arms, on pain of treason. On that same day, Jane Grey laid aside the ensigns of royalty; and Northumberland, having vainly endeavoured to make his peace by proclaiming Mary at Cambridge, was arrested by a serjeant-at-arms, and on the following morning brought prisoner to London, by one of his former colleagues.

The nine days' reign of Lady Jane Grey was a pageant so absurdly contrived, that it is difficult to conceive how any person, not a denizen of Bedlam, could for a moment have expected its success. Jane was not more than sixteen, her virtues and her talents were unknown; indeed, to the immense majority the proclamation of her accession was the first announcement of her existence; everybody knew that though she might wear the crown, Northumberland would wield the sceptre, and everybody equally knew that in his hands it would be a rod of iron. The duke's only recommendation was his promise to support the principles of the Reformation, and his sincerity even in this was more than doubtful. He loved church-lands and monastic forfeitures,—a love which constituted a large portion of the religion of the Protestant nobles of his day; but the rest of his creed belonged not to Lambeth, but the Vatican; even in the lifetime of Edward, Cranmer rebuked the coldness of his zeal, and it is sufficiently notorious that he professed himself an adherent of the old religion on the scaffold.

On the 18th of August Northumberland was brought to trial; Cranmer, Cecil, and Suffolk (lady Jane's father), sitting without any apparent scruple as his judges. His defence was, that he acted under the warrant of the great seal of England, affixed to the will of Edward VI. This was rather difficult to be answered, and it was, therefore, evaded by the judges; they affected to believe that he alluded to Lady Jane's great seal, and, therefore, denied the validity of the warrant. Northumberland then saw, what he might have discovered before, the inutility of further defence, and threw himself upon the mercy of the court.

The only person in Mary's council who proposed to save the life of Northumberland was Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; but there is little reason to believe that he had any prospect of success. Mary was now in her thirty-seventh year. For more than a quarter of a century she had been treated by the Reformed party more like a criminal and a vagabond than a princess; and during this entire period the Dudleys had been the principal agents in the persecution to which she was subjected, the duke with his own hand having written the proclamation in which she was stigmatised as a bastard. A less virulent spirit than Mary's might well have refused to listen to the pleadings of mercy under such circumstances, and the execution was hur-

ried to prevent further intercession. Northumberland was tried on the 18th of August, and on the 21st he was ordered to prepare for execution on the following morning.

The duke received the fatal message with dismay; he immediately wrote a piteous letter to the Earl of Arundel, in which his pleading for life is even worse than the bitterness of death. In this sad appeal he exclaims, "Alas, my good lord, is my crime so heinous as no redemption but my blood can wash away the spots thereof? An old proverb there is, and that most true, 'That a living dog is better than a dead lion.'— Oh, that it would please her good Grace to give me life! yea, *the life of a dog*, if I might but live and kiss her feet, and spend both life and all in her honourable service." An ill-natured commentator might say that the duke's career illustrated the Eastern proverb, describing a dog's life; it began in fawning, advanced to barking, and ended in whining.

The duke's conduct on the scaffold gave great offence to all who had previously supported him. He not only professed himself a true Catholic, but threw the chief blame of his guilt on "the false and seditious preachers," who had led him away from "the Catholic faith and true doctrine of Christ." He then repeated some of the most trite arguments in favour of the Romish creed, and added, "I do think if I had had this belief

sooner, I never had come to this pass: wherefore, I exhort you all, good people, take you all example of me, and forsake this new doctrine betimes. Defer it not long, lest God plague you as he hath me, which now suffer this vile death most worthily."

It is strange that Fox, who had this speech before his eyes, should assert that Northumberland was offered a pardon if he would recant and hear mass, but Truth may be added to the catalogue of that worthy's martyrs; his Protestant Legends are a meet parallel for the Romish Romances, which are designated Lives of the Saints. Bishop Burnett declares that the duke had been a Catholic all along; the probability is, that religion never engaged much of his attention, and that Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, easily induced him to adopt the Romish faith, which allows of absolution on easy terms.

The duke's body and head were interred in the church of St. Peter's, within the Tower, close to the remains of his former rival and victim, the Protector Somerset. Before the altar of that church are, consequently, deposited the bodies of two dukes between the bodies of two queens, Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard, all four beheaded.

The malice of his enemies was not satiated by the fall of the duke; his widow was driven forth houseless from her lordly residence; his sons were

successively brought to trial and sentenced to death. Wyatt's rebellion sealed the doom of Lord Guildford Dudley and his revered wife, Lady Jane Grey; but the rest of the Northumberland family escaped with their lives, and soon entered on a new career of ambition.

We have already mentioned that Robert Dudley had been appointed gentleman of the bedchamber to Edward VI, and was accused of having hastened that monarch's death. "After his entertainment into a place of so near service, the king enjoyed his health not long," says the old chronicler. This charge, however, is utterly absurd; all the Dudleys were interested in preserving Edward's life, and Robert particularly, because from the first he was opposed to the usurpation of Lady Jane Grey; and when, at the command of his father, he levied troops to support her title, he showed a reluctance to engage himself too deeply. Some, indeed, have gone so far as to insinuate that he betrayed his father's cause; but there is no evidence to support the charge, or rather, there is strong evidence to the contrary. He and his elder brethren were released from the Tower in October 1554, eight months after the execution of their unfortunate brother Lord Guildford Dudley.

None of our historians have explained the sudden revolution in favour of the Dudley family,

which seems to have taken place in the minds both of Mary and Elizabeth. The first source of their recovered greatness was the favour of King Philip, which they obtained through their mother. Her uncle, Henry Guildford, had served many years in Spain, and obtained the honour of knighthood from King Ferdinand. The Spanish lords and ladies used all their interest to procure the royal favour for the unfortunate duchess, and her sons entered into the service of Philip. This explanation is amply confirmed by the lady's will, in which she bequeaths some trifling presents and warm thanks to those who had befriended her family in the hour of need. For instance, she bequeaths to the Duchess of Alva her green parrot, having nothing worthy for her else, "praying her Grace to continue a good lady to her children as she has begun." To the Lord *Dondagoe Damondesay*, that is beyond the sea, her little book clock "that hath the sun and moon in it," and her dial, "the one leaf of it the almanack, and on the other side the golden number in the midst," with commendations for the great friendship he hath shewed in making her have so many friends about the king's majesty. She also desires to be remembered to the Dukes of Salvan and Mathenon, "that did her sons good, beseeching them, for God's sake, to continue the good lords to her sons in their needs, and her trust is, that God will requite them for

it." In another place she bequeaths the care of her three surviving sons "to the kynge's majestie and her Highness behynde me."

Ambrose, Robert and Henry Dudley "performed good service," in the Spanish armies. Henry was killed at St. Quentin, as he was stooping to draw his stocking over his knee, that it might not incommode him in scaling the breach. As a reward for these services, Ambrose and Robert were restored in blood by act of parliament (4 and 5 of Philip and Mary). The act sets forth "That by reason of the attainders of John, Duke of Northumberland, the said Ambrose Dudley and Robert Dudley, knights, now remain out of all name and reputation, to their great discomfort, inward grief and daily sorrow." It declares that "the said Ambrose and Robert be, and always, ever since the said attainders, have been, and always hereafter intend to be, her Highness's true and faithful subjects," and then proceeds to reverse the attainder in the usual form.

Robert Dudley attached himself to King Philip's service, and though raised to the dignity of Master of the Ordnance, preferred the court to the army. He was frequently employed to carry messages between the king and queen. On these occasions he always rode post, and thus gratified Mary's extravagant love, which seems to have increased in warmth as Philip grew more

cold. He not only conformed to the Romish faith like Cecil and others, but was regarded as one of the steadiest adherents to Philip's religion, and if Mary had lived he would probably have been known as a patron of Popery instead of Puritanism.

Though, apparently, devoted to Philip and Mary, Robert Dudley had secretly espoused the cause of Elizabeth, and had begun to form hopes of espousing herself. That princess had received already many offers for her hand; the heir of the crown of Denmark, the King of Sweden, and the Duke of Savoy were openly her suitors, and scandal whispered that the handsome, but profligate, Courtenay, Earl of Devon, had made a deep impression on her heart. In the proclamation issued by the Sussex insurgents, it was stated that the object of the revolt was to make "the Lady Elizabeth Queen, and her beloved bed-fellow, Lord Edward Courtenay, King;" indeed it was said that Courtenay's preference of Elizabeth to Mary, was one great cause of the sisterly hatred between the two princesses; but if Courtenay was ever a favoured lover, his notorious debauchery, and perverted taste for the lowest and most degrading amours, must have irritated a lady less subject to jealousy than Elizabeth. Philip, when Mary's declining health evidently showed that the throne would soon be vacant, appears to have resolved on seeking

Elizabeth's hand, and to have employed Dudley as his agent, to sound the inclinations of the princess. The Lord Robert, like many others in the same situation, took the opportunity of pleading his own cause, in which he was so successful, that, immediately on her accession, she created him Master of the Horse, and named him first in the commission for compounding with such as might be called to receive the honour of knighthood at the coronation. In the following year, he was installed knight of the Garter, and added to the number of Privy Councillors.

These preferments excited envy and suspicion; it began to be whispered that he aspired to the Queen's hand, and that he was likely to distance all his competitors. But his rivals were neither few nor despicable. Philip renewed his suit through his ambassador Feria, and his proposals, at first, received favourable audience; the King of Sweden, the Duke of Holstein, and the Archduke Charles of Austria, were severally flattered by negotiations for marriage; such hopes were held out to the Earl of Arran, the head of the Reformed party in Scotland, that he actually proclaimed himself the destined husband of the Queen of England; the Earl of Arundel, though a Catholic, was induced by similar encouragements to vote for the establishment of the Reformed religion in England; and,

finally, such attentions were lavished for several weeks on Sir William Pickering that he was considered certain of success. But, in a short time, Dudley became so decidedly the favourite, that it was commonly said his wife was the only impediment to his marriage with the Queen.

This impediment did not long continue ; Lord Robert persuaded his wife to go to Cumnor in Berkshire, under pretence that the air of the place would benefit her health, and there she soon fell a victim to her husband's ambition. The romance of Kenilworth has given so much interest to the fate of Amy Robsart, that it is desirable to collect the few authentic particulars recorded of her murder.

Cumnor House was tenanted by Anthony Foster, the steward of Lord Robert Dudley, a man of depraved and dissipated character; with him was associated Sir Richard Varney, a minion of the rising favourite, and a zealous promoter of his projected marriage with the Queen. They first resolved to destroy Lady Dudley by poison, and applied for the purpose to Dr. Walter Bayley, Professor of medicine in the University of Oxford, requesting him to prescribe some potion which the lady might be induced to take. The Doctor, finding that the lady had really no need of medicine, and suspecting, from their importunity, that some foul play was intended, refused to prescribe any potion, which might be medi-

cated on the road. Thus frustrated, Foster and Varney devised a new plan; they forcibly sent all her servants to Abingdon fair, and then suffocated the poor lady, throwing her body down a flight of stairs, so as to suggest that her death was occasioned by an accident. The influence of Lord Robert stifled inquiry! Sir John Robsart died many years before his unfortunate daughter, and so destitute was she of near relations, that the inquisition, taken after her death to determine her heirs, was a long and tedious investigation. We shall, subsequently, see that Amy was not the only lady who suffered by the unprincipled ambition of Dudley.

Varney is said to have acknowledged the crime on his death-bed, as he lay suffering under painful disease, aggravated by the horrors of a guilty conscience; Foster fell into fits of despondency, which ended in madness; and the reports of the servants threw an odium on Dudley from which he never recovered. The following letter from Mr. Lever, an eminent preacher, is evidence of the general belief of Dudley's guilt. It is addressed to Sir Francis Knollys and Secretary Cecil, or either of them.

"The Grace of God be unto your honours, with mi humble commendations and hartie thanks in Christ; for that it hath pleased God to place you in autoritie with wisdome, and willes to advance his glore, the Quene's Majestie's godli

honour, and the peaceable welthe of this relme; and that also I am well assured of your faverable mindes towards me, to take in writing according to mi meaning, faithfulli, reverentli and lovingli: Therefore am I moved, and boldned bi writing to signifie unto you, that here in these partes, seemeth unto me to be a grevous and dangerous suspicion and muttering of the death of her which was the wife of the Lord Robert Dudley. And now mi desire and trust is, that the rather by your godli, discrete devise and diligence through the Queen's Majestie's autoritie, ernest searching and triing out of the truethe, with dwe punishment if ani be found gilti in this matter, mai be openli known. For if no search and inquire be made and known, the displeasure of God, the dishonour of the Quene and the danger of the whole relme is to be feared: And bi dwe inquire, and justice openli known, sureli God shall be well pleased and served, the Quene's majestie wortheli commended, and her loving subjects comfortabli quieted. The Lord God guide you by his Grace, in this and all other your godli travels, as he knoweth to be most expedient in Christ. Scriblet at Coventre, the 17th of September, bi youre faithfulli in Christ,

"THOMAS LEVER."

There was little need of pointing out to Cecil the probability of "dishonour to the Queen and

danger to the realm;" his anxiety on both heads was increased by the peril of his own head, which the expected husband of Elizabeth was likely enough to claim in revenge for the treachery displayed to his father. Hopes of safety, however, were derived from the very excess of danger; so undisguised was the Queen's partiality to her favourite, that it was openly said in foreign courts that they lived together in adulterous intercourse. Mary, Queen of Scots, detailing, at a later time, the reports of Lady Shrewsbury to Elizabeth, says, "she declared that one, to whom you made a promise of marriage in the presence of one of your Ladies of Honour, had oftentimes lain with you, enjoying all the licence and privacy usual between husband and wife." It is difficult to pronounce decisively on the degree of credit which these scandalous insinuations merit. Elizabeth's strong attachment to her favourite, whom she soon created Earl of Leicester, was sufficiently notorious; but it is inconsistent with the caution which forms so marked a feature of her character to suppose that she ever placed her fame in his power. Yet there is a passage in a letter from Leicester to Walsingham, of later date than the period now under consideration, which, to say the least of it, is calculated to excite unfavourable suspicions. "We have no news here," he says, "only her majesty is in good health; and though you may hear of bruits to the contrary, I assure

you it is not as hath been reported. Somewhat her majesty hath been troubled with a spice or show of the mother, but indeed not so; the fits that she hath had, hath not been above a quarter of an hour; but yet this little in her hath bred strange bruits here at home."

If Leicester designed this piece of intelligence as a jest, he certainly extended the limits of jocularity to their remotest extremity; but it is possible that he might have designed to secure the support of the crafty Walsingham, by hinting that there were circumstances which rendered his influence with the Queen irresistible. This theory is in some degree confirmed by the memoirs of the Marshal de Tavannes, who did not hesitate to utter some cutting sarcasms on the supposed intrigue when Leicester went as an ambassador to France, for the purpose of negotiating a marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou. The favourite did not refute, much less resent, the insults offered to the character of his mistress; but acted so as to lead to suspicions of their truth. He might have supposed that the general reception of such reports would deter others from seeking the hand of the Queen, and also induce her to silence scandal by consenting to a marriage.

Taking every circumstance into consideration, we are disposed to disbelieve the calumnious report that Elizabeth ever was the mistress of Leicester, and we more than doubt that she at any time

determined for a moment upon becoming his wife. Her inclinations were certainly in his favour, but policy overpowered passion. Viewing the contest in different periods of the crisis, we find it difficult to reconcile one aspect of the affair with another; but the simple reason is, that the Queen's mind vacillated: her conduct was, consequently, inconsistent. The scales were so evenly balanced, that they ascended and descended with the slightest impulse, and, up to the very last moment, it was impossible to tell which side would preponderate. There is, indeed, little reason to doubt that the motive which finally prevailed was pride; she told Castelnau that "she never would marry any one but a prince of an illustrious house and regal descent, not inferior to her own, because she preferred the good of the state to her own inclinations." She added, "that if she believed any of her subjects so presumptuous as to aspire to her hand she would banish him from her presence, and, though so harsh a proceeding would be inconsistent with her natural disposition, she would watch an opportunity of doing him an ill-turn."

Female vanities, passions, and intrigues, form a complicated web, which it is difficult for reason to disentangle, because all the complications have been made in reason's spite. A fresh source of perplexity is now about to be added to all that have gone before; Elizabeth actually proposed Leicester as a husband to her rival, Mary, Queen of Scots,

and recommended him in the warmest terms to Melville, the Scottish ambassador. Leicester believed that this was a trap laid for him by the wily Cecil, in which Elizabeth acquiesced as a trial of the strength of his affections. "If," said he to Melville, "I should have appeared desirous of the match, I should have offended both queens and lost their favour." Innumerable discussions and proposals occupied Elizabeth's council arising from this fresh intrigue; the actors were masters of their art, and, indeed, were so perfect that they imposed upon each other. Cecil, who never seems to have suspected that the Art of Love should have formed part of the studies of a politician, was long unable to discover whether the projected marriage was a serious proposal, or a mere trick to delude the Queen of Scots. At length he discovered the state of the game, and thus briefly describes it in a letter to his confidant: "I see the queen's majesty very desirous to have my Lord of Leicester placed in this high degree to be the Queen of Scots' husband; but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded, I see her then remiss of her earnestness." Mary put an end to these intrigues by selecting a husband for herself; in 1565 she was married to the unfortunate Darnley, Elizabeth secretly facilitating the union, and yet evincing the most violent rage at its completion. Leicester ever afterwards was the most bitter enemy of the Scottish

queen; he was the chosen depositary of all the obscene scandals which Randolph raked together in Edinburgh, and he increased his favour with his royal mistress by gratifying her with calumnious tales against her lovely and envied rival.

A little more light is cast upon these intrigues by the interference of a less cautious, though more cunning personage, Catherine de Medicis. In the preceding chapter we have stated the leading points in her character, her incessant scheming, her incapacity to frame any continuous course of policy, and her forming plot after plot with no other view than temporary triumph. At this period, her great object was to keep Elizabeth from sending any aid to the Huguenots, as it was to be expected that she, as head of the Protestant party in Europe, would do; especially if she were united to the Austrian arch-duke, who was now patronised by the wisest of Elizabeth's advisers. Catherine sent Le Foys to offer the hand of her son, Charles IX., to Elizabeth; and, either foreseeing that it would be rejected, or, more probably, having no real wish to effect such a union, she directed her ambassador, if Charles should be refused, to give all his interest to the Earl of Leicester. It soon appeared that Charles had no chance; Le Foys, therefore, accepted the remaining alternative; and, if we may credit his secret despatches, he had every reason to hope for success. Leicester himself went to Cecil, promising

him favour and further elevation, if he would cease to urge the Queen's marriage to a foreigner. The French ambassador declared that his king and queen, (Charles and Catherine,) highly approved the match; and Elizabeth, in speaking of the favourite, said, "He is like my lap-dog, so soon as he is seen anywhere, they say I am at hand; and wherever he is seen it may be said I am there also." Three weeks after this letter was sent, Le Foys wrote again (Dec. 19th, 1565), declaring that the Queen had promised Leicester marriage before several witnesses, that he had pressed her to name the happy day before Christmas, and that she had requested him to wait till Candlemas. Yet, in a few months after, we find Leicester declaring to the French envoy his firm belief that the Queen would never marry; adding, however, that if she changed her resolution, he was assured that she would decide in favour of himself.

There can be little doubt that Cecil had a principal share in frustrating Leicester's ambitious hopes; he represented to the Queen that her favourite was deeply involved in debt; that he was surrounded by needy dependents, who would engross all the offices and favours of the crown; and that his passions were so violent and mutable as to lead him from the extreme of jealousy to that of indifference, while his self-conceit rendered him insolent in both capacities. A slight inci-

dent strengthened the unfavourable impressions produced by these representations. Having been once refused admission to the Queen's privacy, he threatened the officer by whom he was excluded with severe punishment. The officer, with equal promptitude and prudence, reported the matter to the Queen, who sharply rebuked Leicester's insolence; instead of submitting patiently, he exhibited tokens of anger and sulkiness, proposing to withdraw himself from the court, and pay a visit to France. Elizabeth's love, however, soon returned, and the French ambassador reported that matters were in a greater state of uncertainty than ever.

The misconduct of Darnley in Scotland, shewed Elizabeth the danger of marrying a subject; she abandoned all thoughts of Leicester, and he went into, what we should now call, open opposition. In Lord Burghley's Diary, we find the following entry for October 27th 1566: "Certain Lords, viz. Erles of Pembroke and Leicester, war excluded the Presence Chamber for furderyng the Proposit of the Succession to be declared by Parliament, without the Queen's allowance." This proceeding on the part of Leicester and his creature, Pembroke, was perhaps designed to hasten the Queen's determination, but it increased her suspicions of Leicester's violent temper. Darnley's murder, the civil wars of Scotland, Mary's defeat and flight into England, for a time,

engrossed the attention of all parties; Leicester at first seemed disposed to take an active part against the royal exile, but he soon engaged in a new and more perilous course, parts of which are scarcely susceptible of any rational explanation. He proposed to the Duke of Norfolk to seek a marriage with Mary, Queen of Scots, and promised all his influence to obtain Elizabeth's consent.*

Norfolk, as we learn from the dispatches of the French ambassador Fenelon, had previously remonstrated with Leicester for his indecent familiarities with Elizabeth, taxing him with having visited her in bed, having taken the place of her waiting-woman in shifting her night-dress, and having used some other freedoms which will not bear to be recited. Leicester replied that the Queen had given him encouragement sufficient to justify some trifling liberties, but spoke with great uncertainty respecting his hopes of marriage. He, perhaps, thought that the union of Norfolk with Mary would in some way or other contribute to his own with Elizabeth, though it appears that he had some time previously received a positive denial. The negotiations for Norfolk's marriage were almost brought to a completion, before any mention of the matter was made to Elizabeth; for Leicester, who had undertaken the delicate task,

* See the article on the Duke of Norfolk.

was afraid to introduce the subject. Elizabeth discovered the intrigue, the Duke of Norfolk was arrested, and Leicester was so alarmed, that he took to his bed from real or pretended sickness. Elizabeth hastened to visit her favourite; she heard at his bed-side his confession of ingratitude and disloyalty, interrupted by sighs and tears; she spoke words of comfort, and finally granted him pardon. To efface the memory of this crime Leicester offered to lead an army against the northern insurgents, who had taken up arms to liberate Norfolk and Mary, but Elizabeth declared that his life was too precious to be exposed in such a contest; she detained him at court, and employed him as her principal adviser, during the crisis. Leicester, subsequently, sate as judge on the trial of the Duke of Norfolk, and joined in condemning that nobleman to death for an enterprize which he had himself suggested.

While the fate of the Duke of Norfolk and of Mary was yet undecided, Elizabeth had received proposals from a new suitor, to which she listened more eagerly than to any that had yet been made. Catherine de Medicis offered her second surviving son Henry, Duke of Anjou, as a candidate for her hand, and Elizabeth ordered her ambassador to encourage the project, but not to exhibit too great anxiety for its success. Elizabeth and her counsellors were anxious to

secure the support of France at this crisis; the papal bull pronouncing her deposition had been published,—the rebellion in the north of England, though suppressed, had left behind it uneasiness and alarm, and the claim of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the succession, gave just cause of disquiet to those who had provoked her enmity by cruel persecutions. These feelings were singularly depicted in two acts of Parliament; the statutes of the realm became records of the fears of the rulers, and the follies of the people. By one law, it was declared treason for any individual to claim the crown during the lifetime of the Queen: by another, one year's imprisoment for the first offence, and the pains of *præmunire* for the second, menaced every one who should, by writing or printing, affirm that any particular person was the heir of the Queen, "except the natural issue of her body."

The unfortunate phrase "natural issue," so generally applied to illegitimate children, gave rise to the most scandalous reports. It was commonly believed, that Elizabeth was likely to become a mother, and Leicester, so far as he dared, encouraged the calumny. Openly, indeed, he appeared to favour the Queen's marriage with the Duke of Anjou, and even went to France as a commissioner for arranging the conditions of the union, but he secretly opposed it by all the influence he could command; and no means

were more efficacious than supplying tales of scandal to the licentious wits of the French court, for Henry of Anjou was extremely sensitive of ridicule.*

So far as her own words deserve credit, Elizabeth appears to have been anxious for the marriage with the Duke of Anjou. In a letter of instructions addressed to her ambassador, Sir F. Walsingham, (March 24th, 1571,) she says "we are resolved for the benefit of our realm, and contentation of our subjects, to marry with some person of kingly blood and quality, meet for us and our country; and that we are free from all manner of impediments to marry where we shall please." In the same letter, she refers to the experience of Catherine de Medicis in matrimonial affairs, and engages to follow her advice: the only difficulty raised, is, "the presence of the prince at the Reformed worship, in oratories and churches," coupled with a refusal to concede "any authority to have any exercise in facts of such rites as are prohibited by English laws." Leicester believed her to be serious, for he writes to Walsingham (13th of March, 1571), "Assuredly I do verily believe her Majesty's mind herein is otherwise than it hath been, and more resolutely determined than ever yet at any time before." Finally, Burghley wrote out a calculation of the Queen's

* Full particulars of this negotiation will be found under the head of La Mothe Fenelon.

nativity, proving by astrology that the queen was predestined by the stars to marry a young rich and noble foreigner, by whom she would have a son, fated to be the most fortunate prince of the age, and, finally, that, after a happy union of many years, she should survive her husband! On the 7th of July, however, Burleigh writes that the Queen's eagerness had cooled, and says "I am in small hope that any marriage will grow this way." Sept. 2nd, he writes "that religion was now the only point of difficulty." On the 20th of the same month, Leicester declares "I am now persuaded that her Majestie's heart is nothing inclined to marry at all." On the 6th of Dec. however, he declares that he finds "now again a full determination in her Majestie to like of marriage." But the Queen's returning eagerness, was not met with corresponding warmth; Henry refused to yield one jot in his demands respecting religion; his friends and favourites lampooned Elizabeth, and it is said that he did not abstain from scurrilous jests respecting her reputed amours. The Queen, who was now the wooer, made several efforts to bring Henry to renew his addresses, but she had the mortification to receive a direct refusal, couched in uncourteous terms.

During the progress of these negotiations, Leicester, having, at least for a time, abandoned all expectations of obtaining the Queen's hand, en-

gaged in an intrigue with the dowager Lady Sheffield, after having, as it was popularly reported, removed her husband by poison. There is every reason to believe that he was privately married to this lady at Esher, in Surrey, and that the witnesses were sworn to secrecy through fear of the Queen's displeasure. It is unquestionable that he had a son and daughter by this lady, and that she was served as a countess in her chamber, until he commanded the contrary. But, after the lapse of a few years, the earl engaged in a new intrigue with the Countess of Essex, and offered Lady Sheffield an annuity of seven hundred pounds to withdraw her pretensions. On her refusal several attempts were made on her life; and, as she, subsequently, deposed before the Privy Council, she was forced, by fear of poison, to give her hand to Sir Edward Stafford; "ill potions having been administered, which caused the loss of her hair and nails." In spite of Leicester's denial, Lady Sheffield was generally regarded as his wife, and when he, subsequently, married Lady Essex, the profane wits of the court said that Leicester's Bible was complete, for he had now the Old Testament and the New.

Scarcely had the marriage treaty between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou been broken off, when Catherine proffered a third son as suitor to the English Queen in the person of the Duke of Alençon, of whom we have spoken in the pre-

ceding chapter. He was twenty-one years younger than Elizabeth, was pitted with the small-pox, and had so monstrous a nose, that this feature appeared to be doubled in his countenance. Hence, when he went to Flanders, the following epigram was circulated, in which his nose is whimsically made a type of the duplicity of his character:—

Good people of Flanders, pray do not suppose
That 'tis monstrous this Frenchman should double his nose;
Dame Nature her favours but rarely misplaces,
She has given two noses to match his two faces.

The French Huguenots, who believed that Alençon was secretly disposed to favour their cause, strenuously urged this match, the English ministers favoured it, and Walsingham, though still suffering from the perplexities of the old negotiation, exerted himself with all his might to bring it to a favourable issue. It is of more importance to observe that Catherine de Medicis was eagerly bent on accomplishing this union; a fact quite inconsistent with her having premeditated the massacre of St. Bartholomew.* This is so important a confirmation of our "new reading of that great event," that we shall extract from Sir T. Smith's despatches an account of the conversation between Catherine and the English ambassador, relating to the proposed union. (March 22nd, 1571.)

* See the article on La Mothe Fenelon.

" She (Catherine) asked whether the Duke (of Norfolk) were executed; we said no, that we could learn.—No, (saith she) belike the Queen will pardon him. We answered, we could not tell.—I would (saith she) she were in quiet from all these broils; doe you know nothing how she can fancie the marriage with my son, the Duke of Alanson?—Madam, you know me of old, except I have a sure ground, I dare affirm nothing to your Majestie.—Why, (saith she) if she be disposed to marrie, I do not see where she shall marrie so well; and yet (saith she) I may, as a mother, justly be accounted partial; but as for those which I have heard named, as the Emperor's son, or Don John of Austria, they be both lesser than my son is, and of less stature by a good deal, and if she should marrie it were pity any more time were lost.

" Madam, (quoth I) if it pleased God that she were married, and had a child, all these braggs, and all these treasons would soon be appaled; and, on condition she had a child by Mr. d'Alanson, for my part I cared not if ye had the Queen of Scots here; for then ye would be as careful and jealous over her for the queen my mistresses suretie, as we, or as herself is. That is true, (saith she) and without this marriage, (saith she) if she should marrie in another place, I cannot see how this league and amity would be as strong as it is. True, madam, (quoth I) the knot

of blood and marriage is a stronger seal than that which is printed in wax, and lasteth longer, if God give good successe; but yet all leagues have not marriage joyned with them, as this may, if it please God.—I would it had, (saith she) then surely would I make a start over and see her myself, the which I do most desire of all things.—Madam, (quoth I) if I had now as ample a commission for Mr. d'Alanson as I had at the first for Monsieur (duke of Anjou) the matter should soon, by God's grace, be at an end.—Would you had, (said she) and if you had such a one when you were in England, would you not come over again to execute it.—Yes, Madam, (quoth I) most gladly to so good an intent I would pass again the sea, if I were never so sick for it. Then, saith Mr. Walsingham, and surely it was no religion that made that stop in the marriage of Monsieur, but some other thing.—No, surely, (saith she) he never shewed me any other cause.—I assure you, Madam, (saith Mr. Walsingham) I can marvelous hardly believe it, for at Gallion he was so willing and so well-affected, that methought it did me much good when he spoke of the queen my mistress, or with any of her ministers: I perceived it in his words, in his countenance, in his gesture, and in all things; but again, when he came to Paris, all was clean changed.—It is true, Monsieur L'Ambassadeur, (saith she) and it made me much to marvel at it;

but even at Gallion all other things liked him well; but at the religion he made a little stop, but nothing as he did after. Upon this I bare him in hand,—for it grieved me not a little, and the king my son also, as you know,—that of all evil rumours, and tales of naughty persons, such as would break the matter, and were spread abroad of the Queen, that those he did believe, and that made him so backward. And I told him that it is all the hurt that evil men can do to noble women and princes, to spread abroad lies and dishonourable tales of them, and that we of all princes that be women are subject to be slandered wrongfully of them that be our adversaries; other hurt they cannot do us: he said and swore to me he gave no credit to them; he knew she had so vertuously governed her realm this long time, that she must needs be a good and vertuous princesse, and full of honour; and other opinion of her he could not have; but that his conscience and his religion did trouble him that he could not be quiet, and nothing else."

Catherine, in the conversation we have quoted, evinces some anxiety to clear Henry of the charge of having aspersed the character of Elizabeth; we find her still more eager to remove such an impression in her private letters to the French ambassadors at the English court; she repeatedly urged upon them the duty of effacing from Elizabeth's mind the resentment which she felt for

the abrupt manner in which the Duke of Anjou had broken off the negotiations, and to ascribe the withdrawal of his suit to a qualm of conscience, not to any objection to the Queen's person or character. In these communications she insinuates a suspicion that Leicester was secretly opposed to any French match, and recommends them to use every means to conciliate that powerful favourite.

Elizabeth's spirit of coquetry was not less manifest in this than it had been in the former negotiations; Walsingham was perplexed by contradictory orders, and was, at the same time, pressed to celebrate the match by the French court, by the leaders of the Huguenots, and by Burleigh's party in England. To relieve his anxieties, he proposed that Alençon should visit London, and to secure him a favourable reception, transmitted to the Queen the most romantic account of the sincerity of his passion. Suddenly the massacre of St. Bartholomew unexpectedly checked the plans of all parties, filling Europe with surprise and horror. The death of Charles IX. soon followed; his brother Henry ascended the throne of France, and the Duke d'Alençon succeeded to the title of Duke of Anjou.

The failure of this third negotiation with France revived Leicester's hopes of yet gaining the Queen's hand. On the 5th of July 1575, he received the Queen at the castle of Kenilworth, and feasted her

for ten days with extraordinary magnificence. Sir Walter Scott's account of this brilliant entertainment precludes the necessity of describing it here; we need only say that it had no effect in furthering his suit; and he, therefore, yielded to the seductions of another mistress. This new object of the favourite's love was the wife of Walter, Earl of Essex, and the mother of Leicester's successor in the favour of Elizabeth. During her husband's absence in Ireland she had yielded to the earl's arts, and had a daughter by him, who was privately educated by Lady Chandos. The Earl of Essex, hearing of his disgrace, threatened vengeance; but he died suddenly, poisoned, as it was generally believed, by some of his own servants, whom Leicester had suborned. The widow was soon secretly united to her paramour; but the marriage was studiously concealed from Elizabeth.

We must now resume the tangled web of Elizabeth's intrigues with her third French lover, the Duke of Anjou. We have seen that the negotiations for this marriage began before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and were continued to the very eve of that dreadful event. The anxiety of Catherine to effect the union is sufficiently obvious from her conversation with the English ambassadors, and it is now necessary to go a little way back for the purpose of seeing how the proposal, when first broached, was received by the

English Queen. Fortunately, a detailed account of the French mission has been preserved by Le Laboreur, which appears to have been written by Paul de Foix, who was one of the envoys. An abstract of this important document, which is very little known, will, doubtless, amuse our readers.

Montmorency, Fenelon, and De Foix, in opening the subject, found it difficult to remove the prejudice which Elizabeth had formed against the French princes, in consequence of the rejection of her hand by Henry, Duke of Anjou; she ironically expressed her thanks to Catherine for having offered her three sons successively, and then complained bitterly of her late suitor's conduct. Fenelon made the same apology that Catherine had addressed to Smith, and then endeavoured to show that the new lover was superior to the old one. Elizabeth asked time to consult her council, and withdrew. During her absence, the ambassadors were entertained with a bull-bait and a bear-bait, in the court-yard of the palace. In the evening the conversation was renewed; M. de Foix insisted, principally, on the strength and robust health of the young prince, delicately passing over his deficiency in beauty. Elizabeth professed herself much gratified by the conversation, and promised to take the matter into serious consideration.

Their next interview was with Lord Burleigh;

he surprised them by declaring that the Queen's private and personal feelings were, in his mind, of greater importance than any considerations connected with the public weal, and expressed his alarm lest the young prince should show as little regard for a Queen so much his senior, as Philip had evinced for Mary. The Frenchmen replied by an eulogy on the virtues of the Prince, and a still more extravagant laudation of the graces and agreeable qualities of Elizabeth, "which would serve as a perpetual bond to link them in perfect love and domestic happiness." Burleigh was not moved by this precious piece of romance; he insisted that France should make some valuable concession to compensate for the prince's deficiency in age, and plainly intimated that he expected the restitution of Calais. The Frenchmen evaded the demand by a new burst of gallantry, upon which Burleigh confessed himself vanquished by their reasoning, and promised to exert all his influence to forward the marriage.

Several conferences followed, in which Elizabeth raised difficulties, on the score of difference in age and religion, while the French ambassadors dwelt chiefly on the importance of her having heirs to the crown. They declared that the prince was a most desirable husband, (*qu' il estoit fort vigoreux et capable de luy faire des enfans,*) and entreated her, for the sake of her subjects, to avert the horrors of a disputed succession. Elizabeth

appeared to be influenced by these considerations; she, however, requested further time, and then dismissed the envoys to enjoy a second exhibition of bull-baiting and bear-baiting. Leicester was present at this conference, and the ambassadors suspected that he was secretly intriguing to defeat their objects.

A few days proved that this suspicion was not groundless; at their next interview the Queen demanded a month for consideration, upon which the ambassadors declared their resolution to return home. They were dismissed with great favour, and, as they were departing, Elizabeth drew M. de Foix aside, and whispered to him her wish that he would aid her with his prayers, for the divine direction in coming to a right decision.

The general indignation which the massacre of St. Bartholomew excited in England, and the belief that Leicester's star was again in the ascendant, which the magnificent fête at Kenilworth tended to confirm, interrupted the negotiations between Catherine and Elizabeth for about five years. They were renewed under the auspices of Castelnau in 1578, who was encouraged to hope for success by his knowledge of the fact that Elizabeth had secretly abetted her lover in his efforts to wrest the crown from his brother Henry. The Duke of Anjou did not quite trust Castelnau; he sent over a secret agent of his own, M. Simier, who soon acquired an extraordinary ascendancy

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over the mind of the Queen. His very first step was of vast importance; he discovered and revealed Leicester's recent marriage with the Countess-dowager of Essex, and laid the proofs before Elizabeth. For the first time in his life the favourite found his royal mistress implacable; he was severely reprimanded, and placed in confinement at Greenwich; his lady, who survived him many years, was never pardoned by the jealous Queen.

Scandal asserts that Simier was, for a time, Leicester's successor in the favour of the Queen; and there is no doubt that she admitted him to familiarities which passed the bounds of delicacy; but he certainly employed whatever influence he obtained, in the service of his master; he persuaded Elizabeth that Anjou was dying for love of her, and induced her to express anxiety for a personal visit from the Prince. Castelnau laboured to frustrate this project, partly because he doubted the Queen's sincerity, and partly because he did not doubt the Prince's ugliness. The result, however, all but baffled the calculations of this clever statesman; indeed, rarely has consummate folly approached so near to a decisive victory over wisdom.

In the summer of 1579, the Duke of Anjou unexpectedly arrived at Greenwich, whither he had travelled in disguise. The small-pox and the monstrous nose were forgiven for the quixotic

romance of this expedition; Anjou was believed to have won the heart of Elizabeth; he was admitted to more than the freedom and privileges of a recognised lover; he had repeated conversations with the Queen in private, while, openly, their courtship was of the most ardent character. Finally, at his departure, Elizabeth promised to lay the matter before her council, and to be guided by their advice.

The lords of the council were amazed; the absurdity and unpopularity of such a match were sufficiently glaring, and they could not bring themselves to recommend it with the urgency which the Queen expected. Elizabeth burst into a passion of tears when she found that they did not unanimously petition her to marry, as they had done before. She broke off and renewed the negotiations several times, but, at length, the terms of a preliminary treaty were arranged, and everything seemed to promise a favourable issue.

Castelnau, almost alone, held the opinion that these matrimonial negotiations would end, like all the preceding, in disappointment. He believed that Elizabeth's sole object was, to prevent any interference in behalf of Mary, Queen of Scots, and to perpetuate disunion between the courts of France and Spain. With this belief full in his mind, he must have been surprised and perplexed by the sentimental jargon of the letters he constantly received from the Duke of Anjou, desiring

the ambassador to convey the warmest sentiments of love to his antiquated mistress. In one of these precious epistles Anjou says, "The little deity whom painters represent as blind, is known to me as perfectly clear-sighted; the choice I have made is so perfect, that I am not astonished at any of its effects, though, without proof, I would never have believed them; and, now that I feel the effects increasing, I beg of you to make an important request to my mistress, the Queen of England." The favour sought was, permission to pay her another visit. Again, in another letter, "I passionately desire the completion of this union, and beg of you to urge it forward with the same zeal that you evinced at the beginning; I shall ever retain a grateful sense of your services."

The contract of marriage was signed on the 11th of June, 1581; but, in communicating this apparently decisive measure to the court of France, Elizabeth took care to reserve the liberty of changing her mind, if certain stipulations, which she did not specify, were left unfulfilled. This reservation alarmed the court of France; but it was unknown in the Netherlands, where the States that had thrown off the Spanish yoke, elected the duke their sovereign, in the full belief that they were choosing the future husband of the Queen of England. Having been solemnly invested with the ensigns of the Duchy of Brabant, Anjou led

an army of sixteen thousand men into the Netherlands, to the payment of which Elizabeth contributed one hundred thousand crowns. After a successful campaign, he came over to England in November; his arrival was celebrated with fireworks and other rejoicings; the Queen entertained him at a magnificent banquet, and placed a ring on his finger, in presence of the whole court. This circumstance was deemed decisive; in Paris the marriage was considered certain; there were public rejoicings at Antwerp and Brussels, as if it had actually taken place.

Leicester's friends, however, were not idle; the Puritan preachers, whom he patronised, denounced the marriage of the Queen to a Popish prince from the pulpit; libels against the Duke of Anjou and the entire royal family of France were industriously circulated, and the ladies of the court, with tears in their eyes, besought the Queen to pause before she exposed herself to the peril of such treatment as had broken the heart of her sister Mary. Elizabeth again hesitated; Anjou continued in England three months, daily urging his suit; but, at length, he departed to support his cause in the Netherlands, having obtained a small supply of men and money from England. The parting between the Queen and the prince was sentimental in the extreme; she accompanied him as far as Canterbury, weeping like an amorous

girl, and she did not permit him to depart until she had received from him the warmest promises of a speedy return.

The remainder of Anjou's career was equally brief and unfortunate; on his return to the Netherlands, he found that the power nominally bestowed upon him, was really possessed by the Prince of Orange. In the midst of the disputes arising from such an arrangement, Orange was assassinated; the Duke of Anjou, though innocent, was suspected, and was in imminent peril of being destroyed, had not the letters found in the pocket of the assassin, proved him to be an emissary of Spain. Anjou, in order to strengthen himself, resolved to seize the chief cities in the Netherlands and garrison them with French troops; his treacherous attempt was defeated, and the Flemings, justly enraged, refused to recognise him as their sovereign any longer. He returned to France, equally diseased in mind and body; after several weeks of agony and suffering he died in the month of June, 1584. Elizabeth had felt, or affected, great grief when first she heard of Anjou's illness, so that the ambassador was afraid to communicate the intelligence of his death; it does not appear, however, that she was much affected by the event, and it must ever remain a problem whether she ever felt a particle of love for this, the most favoured of her royal suitors.*

* See the article on Fenelon.

Simier's information was the greatest blow which the power of Leicester ever received, and he attempted to revenge it by employing an assassin to attempt the life of the Frenchman. When this failed, he appears to have resolved to remain quiet, and watch the course of events. Having received information of Anjou's interest beginning to decline, he made a vigorous effort to regain his former influence, by establishing a Protestant association for the purpose of protecting Elizabeth against the machinations of the Papists and, particularly, the friends of the Queen of Scots. We shall, hereafter, examine his reasons for so ardently desiring to bring the unfortunate Mary to the scaffold. On the present occasion his zeal was stimulated by the hope of recovering the favour he had lost, and his efforts were successful. When the first rumours of a Spanish invasion were spread abroad, Leicester framed a Protestant association for the defence of Queen Elizabeth, and for taking vengeance on those who should attempt to do her any injury. Though she was not expressly named, the unfortunate Mary felt that this union was formed against her; she remonstrated in vain, the association was approved by the government and confirmed by parliament.

At this crisis the revolters in the Netherlands offered the sovereignty of their provinces to Elizabeth; she rejected the proffer, but sent

an army of six thousand men to their aid. The command of this auxiliary force was entrusted to the Earl of Leicester, and the queen addressed to the States a laboured eulogium on her favourite's abilities, both as a general and a politician. Such a recommendation led the Dutch to believe that the more honoür they bestowed upon the earl, the more likely they would be to secure the friendship of the crown; they installed him Governor-general of the Netherlands, declaring his authority absolute, jointly with the council of state.

Strada asserts that the states of Holland took this step in the full belief that Elizabeth had intended to create Leicester Lieutenant-general of her own kingdom, and had been dissuaded only by the rival influence of Hatton, who refused as Chancellor to put his seal to the patent. They soon learned that they had been deceived. Instead of being gratified, Elizabeth was so much enraged as to threaten Leicester with humbling him to the dust from which she had raised him. It is scarcely necessary to write the history of the campaign; Leicester was miserably inefficient as a general; he carefully avoided a general battle, though there were many opportunities of attacking the Spaniards with advantage. His principal enterprize was an attack on Zutphen, which completely failed: in this abortive attempt, Sir Philip Sydney, nephew to Leicester, and equally

remarkable for his virtues and accomplishments, unfortunately lost his life.

Leicester's civil administration was even worse than his military career; he imposed vexatious restrictions on commerce, claimed a right to examine the private accounts of the merchants, and raised large sums by demanding fees for granting passports to foreign traders. With a perverseness almost unaccountable, he bestowed all vacant offices upon persons the most obnoxious to the people; he even conferred important offices on two Englishmen who had deserted the service of the States and joined the Spaniards, but now came back in the hope of obtaining promotion. The only persons who favoured Leicester, were the more violent of the Calvinistic preachers, whom he gratified by issuing severe edicts against the Catholics, and affecting the most rigid Puritanism in his manners and conversation.

In the winter of 1586, Elizabeth, having finally resolved on the trial and execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, summoned Leicester to her assistance; he committed the administration of public affairs to the senate, after having vainly endeavoured to persuade the states to receive his creatures, Stanley and York, as his deputies. The Dutch transmitted to Elizabeth a long catalogue of complaints against the favourite, but his influence with the Queen rendered the charges fruitless, and a great part of the winter was spent in useless altercations.

In the whole course of the iniquitous proceedings against Mary, Queen of Scots, Leicester unvaryingly recommended that she should be removed by private assassination. He advised Walsingham to avoid the peril and trouble of a public trial by using poison, and when that statesman objected to the crime, he sent a preacher to prove to him that such a proceeding against such a person was fully sanctioned by Scripture. Most of the actors in this detestable tragedy, exerted themselves to destroy every trace of their movements; it is only by incidental fragments that we discover Leicester to have been the most trusted adviser of Elizabeth. He was particularly careful to rouse her jealousy of Mary's son, James, by representing that he would occupy his mother's place as successor to the crown, and he seems to have speculated on the possibility of excluding the Scottish line altogether. His object in such a line of policy will be explained at the close of this article, when we shall examine the claims of those who might have been put forward by Leicester, as Lady Jane Grey had been by his father, if his ambitious schemes had not been frustrated by death. Immediately after the execution of Mary, Leicester prepared to return to his charge in the Netherlands, where his policy had produced serious evils during his absence.

Leicester's creatures, Stanley and York, be-

trayed the city of Daventer and the strong fort erected to cover Zutphen, to the Spaniards. This so irritated the Dutch that they would at once have elected a new governor, had they not feared to irritate Elizabeth by deposing her favourite. A new danger threatened them, the Prince of Parma advanced against Ostend and Sluys; the former was saved by a seasonable reinforcement of Englishmen, but the latter was closely invested and reduced to great extremities. Leicester hastened to relieve the place, but after a vain effort to throw in succours from the sea and a still more idle demonstration against the covering army, he left Sluys to its fate. It was bravely defended for two months, and the governor did not surrender until he had exhausted all his ammunition and provision. The bravery of the garrison was strongly contrasted with the indecision and cowardice of Leicester; he answered the remonstrances addressed to him, by counter-complaints against the States, and the Princes Maurice and Hohenlohe. The latter general made a spirited answer, in which he fully vindicated his own conduct and exposed the folly and weakness of Leicester's proceedings. For a time the earl was enabled to maintain his power by the support of the lower ranks, who were won over to his side by the preachers, but the discovery of an attempt to seize Leyden deprived him of this aid, and he gladly availed himself of

the Queen's orders to return to England. His first step was to procure from the Queen a general pardon for all his proceedings in the Netherlands, after which he resigned the office of governor to the great joy of the confederates.

Grotius and Le Clerc assert that the Queen was so thoroughly convinced of Leicester's having designed to render himself despotic in the Netherlands, that she would have brought him to trial, had not her attention been engaged by the approach of the Spanish Armada. Some English writers insinuate that Leicester really intended to make himself an independent prince, in the hope that such elevation would remove the only bar to his marriage with Elizabeth. There is no evidence either for the assertion or the insinuation; so far was the Queen from exhibiting resentment, that she made her favourite lieutenant-general of the forces raised to meet the Spanish invasion; and Leicester must have long previously abandoned all hopes of a royal marriage, for he openly lived with his wife, and showed her great affection.

The approach of the threatened Armada excited an unparalleled burst of patriotism and courage throughout England. Never did a nation assume a more imposing attitude than the English people on this occasion, and the Queen's courage proved her adequate to the crisis. But even in this, the most illustrious portion of her career, the follies

of passion or the weakness of favouritism, continued to cast a blight upon her character. She appointed the unworthy Leicester her lieutenant-general; and, notwithstanding the recent display of his cowardice and incapacity in Holland, she proclaimed to her army that their general had her entire confidence; and that "never did prince command a more worthy or more noble subject." Fortunately, the fate of war was decided at sea: Howard, Drake, and Frobisher created, rather than sustained, the naval glory of England, and the Invincible Armada was ruined. But, even in this triumph, folly was pre-eminently conspicuous. Elizabeth's ill-timed avarice withheld from her fleet an adequate supply of ammunition; they were unable to complete their victory, and the consummation of their triumph was left to the winds and the waves. Had there been a sufficiency of naval stores, the greater part of the Armada would have been brought into English harbours.

It has been insinuated that the deficiency of the fleet was caused by the influence of the Earl of Leicester, who was jealous of the glory likely to be obtained by the admirals, and eager to distinguish himself in the field. There are no tangible grounds for this improbable conjecture; naval affairs were at the time scarcely understood in England, and Elizabeth had, from the very beginning, complained of the heavy expenses

attendant on the support of a fleet. Indeed, when there was a false report that the sailing of the Armada would be delayed for another year, she sent orders to her Lord Admiral, Howard of Effingham, to have four of his large ships laid up, and the crews dismissed. Fortunately, the admiral had the courage to disobey these orders, and he thus almost saved the nation in spite of the sovereign.

This dangerous error was occasioned by a crafty trick of the Duke of Parma; aware of the great preparations that were made in England to resist the Armada, he caused it to be secretly intimated to Elizabeth and her ministers that he had power to conclude an absolute peace, and several persons of distinction, including the Earl of Derby and Sir James Crofts, were sent to open negotiations. Crofts, deceived by the Spaniards, appears to have misled the Queen with hopes of peace, and he further committed himself by going to the court at Brussels, without waiting for his colleagues. On his return to England, he was accused by the Earl of Leicester, and committed to prison. So far as the imperfect record of these transactions enables us to judge, Leicester appears to have insinuated that Crofts was bribed to spread delusive hopes of peace, in order that the English government should disarm, and thus fall an easier victim to the Spaniards.

The overthrow of the Armada, which filled

England with joy, was the source of great mortification to the Earl of Leicester. It stopped the patent which was about to be issued creating him lieutenant-general of the kingdom. He retired from court to his castle of Kenilworth; but being overtaken by disease at Cornbury, he died on the 4th of September, 1588, being about fifty-six years of age.

Nearly all the cotemporary writers assert that Leicester fell a victim to poison; Naunton declares that he, by mistake, swallowed the potion he had prepared for another person; and, as there can be no doubt that the Earl was a poisoner of great eminence and success, the story is far from being improbable. The Privy Council must have believed that his death was not natural, for they minutely investigated a report that he had been poisoned by the son of Sir James Crofts, in revenge for the imprisonment of his father. Some suspicious circumstances were elicited during the examination; but the matter was suddenly dropped, probably, because an inquiry into any one of the complicated intrigues of Elizabeth's court would have involved too many persons "of honour and consequence."

At his death, Leicester was the Queen's favourite Privy Councillor, Lord Steward of the Household, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, High Steward of the University of Cambridge, Chief Justice in Eyre in the counties beyond

Trent, Queen's Lieutenant and Captain-general of the forces in Holland, Governor and Captain-general of the United Provinces, General of the English forces raised against the Spaniards, and Knight of the Orders of St. Michael, the Golden Fleece, and the Garter. He had, besides, patents of the stewardships of the archbishoprics and most of the bishoprics in England, and also of Reading, Abingdon, Harrow-on-the-Hill, the forest of Snoden, the city of Bristol, the boroughs of Evesham, Andover, and Great Yarmouth. He had several other lucrative appointments; in addition to which, his reputed influence with the Queen procured him several large presents from the expectants of court favour, and, in one instance, from Lord Burleigh himself. Notwithstanding all these sources of emolument he died poor, and the Queen permitted his goods to be sold by auction for the discharge of a debt due to the Crown! Elizabeth's want of feeling, and even of common decency, in permitting such an insult to the memory of her favourite, excited much surprise, and was received by many, at the time, as a proof that his favour had been on the wane for some time previous to his death.

Although this sketch has already extended to a greater length than we originally designed, yet the subject is of such importance to forming an estimate of the court of Elizabeth, that we must add some further remarks. It appears evident

from the whole course of his history that Leicester, from the very outset of his career to the close of it, never abandoned the hope of bringing royalty into his family. At the time of Elizabeth's accession the matrimonial crown seemed within his reach; but when the Queen's repeated procrastinations deprived him of all hope, he appears to have designed his brother-in-law, the Earl of Huntingdon, (descended from George, Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV,) to be a claimant for the succession. From the time of his marriage with the Countess-dowager of Essex, there are evident traces of a design in the favourite to form a party personally devoted to himself, and to this ambition, rather than to avarice, the many acts of violent and mean oppression with which his memory has been loaded, may be fairly attributed. Thus viewed, his whole life would seem to have been devoted to the attainment of an object which had already cost his father his head; and which, after his hopes of marriage with the Queen were baffled, he ought to have known to be impracticable. That political power, not money, was the great object of his intrigues, is evident from his courting and patronising the Puritans in preference to the Roman Catholics, though the latter were both able and willing to pay large sums for protection. A curious instance of his wish to obtain parliamentary influence is evinced in his letter to the corporation of Andover, which

we shall insert, as it is a document very little known.

"After my heartie commendations. Whereas, it hath pleased her Majestie to appoint a parliament to be presentlie called; being steward of your towne I make bould heartilie to pray you that you would give me the nomination of one of your burgesses for the same; and yf mynding to avoide the chardges of allowance for the other burgesse, you meane to name anie that is not of your towne, yf ye will bestow the nomination of the other burgesse also upon me, I will thank you for it, and will both appoynt a sufficient man, and see you discharged of all charges in that behaulfe; and so, praying your speedie answere herein, I thus bid you heartilie farewell.

"From the Courte the 12th of October, 1584.

"Your loving Friende,

"R. LEYCESTER.

"If you will send me your election with a blank I will put in the names.

"To my very loving friendes the Baylieſes, Aldermen, and the rest of the town of Andover."

It has been usual to describe Leicester as a man of extraordinary abilities; but we find it difficult to discover any proofs of his eminence as a general, a statesman, or a politician; except, indeed,

that he kept his place in spite of more open and secret opposition than it has been usually the fate of a successful favourite to encounter. But this was not the main object of his ambition; it rather aggravates the charge of weakness and incapacity, to find him living for years in the position of Tantalus with the cup of royalty perpetually approached to his lips, and yet snatched away before he could muster courage for an attempt to clutch it. His influence over Elizabeth cannot be rationally explained on grounds that do not involve suspicions injurious to the honour of both parties; though it is scarcely possible to assign the limits within which these suspicions should be restricted. Taking, however, the very mildest view of the evidence before us, it is impossible to deny that Elizabeth's court during the time between her accession and the death of Leicester was only not worse than that of Catherine de Medicis. We have avoided quoting authentic specimens of royal and noble grossness in manners and conversation, which would not, in the present day, be tolerated among the lowest and most degraded classes of the community. It is still more disgusting to find that the vices of the period were varnished over by an affectation of peculiar sanctity; but the state of religion in the reign of Elizabeth, including the course of policy pursued towards the Romanists and Puritans, will come more properly under consideration in another

place. Leicester's life has enabled us to examine much of the interior economy of the English and the public policy of the administration during the early and vigorous portion of Elizabeth's reign; were we to trace the history of his step-son, and successor in the Queen's favour, we should find more repulsive scenes of coquettish fatuity, more disgusting associations of love and murder. The caprices of an old flirt, who had survived her beauty, but not her passions; the intrigues of veteran adventurers to retain the wealth and power which they had won by the most tortuous means; and the ambition of greedy aspirants to obtain similar shares of grants and forfeitures, occupied the close of a reign which we have been taught to reverence as "The *glorious* days of *good* Queen Bess!"

CHAPTER III.

MICHEL DE CASTELNAU,

SIEUR DE MAUVISSIERE.

THE biographers of Castelnau are unanimous in their assertions that he was the only public man of his age who united integrity with intelligence; and his relative, Mesnil, avers that his life may be comprehended in the text, "A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his estates, wounded him (in the soul), and left him half dead;" to which he adds, that no good Samaritan came to his assistance, though plenty of priests and Levites passed by on the other side. There is less of exaggeration in this eulogium than is usually found in such panegyrics; as a warrior, statesman, and historian, Castelnau yields to few of his cotemporaries in merit, and surpasses them all in rectitude; but he was chiefly engaged in executing the plans which others framed; he was the instrument of Machiavelism, which he despised; of ambition, which he feared; and of fanaticism, which he hated. We may smile, though painfully, when we find

wisdom the slave of folly; but the smile fades, and the bitterness remains alone, when we see virtue made the tool of vice.

In the two preceding sketches we have brought, from the by-ways of memoirs and despatches, much curious, though neglected, information respecting the courts of England and France in the sixteenth century, and we shall have occasion to revisit both when new actors come upon the stage; but Castelnau, who was the servant of Catherine de Medicis, and the admirer of Elizabeth, will supply us with some illustrative anecdotes, completing the portraits we have drawn, and confirming their general accuracy.

This, however, is not the chief reason for making Castelnau the subject of a sketch; the religious wars of France form a strange and instructive episode in European history. It was an aphorism in Paris that all Protestants were traitors, and it was equally an aphorism in London that all Papists were rebels; the last of the race of Valois burned preachers, and the last of the Tudors hanged priests; while they, with equal indignation, disclaimed the odious name of persecutor, and averred that they were actuated only by motives of self-preservation.

This extraordinary phenomenon of two nations, almost within sight of each other, denouncing each other's creed as subversive of social order, employing the torch and the rope against those

who blessed the Pope on one side, or cursed him on the other, and yet lavishing on each other the most extravagant professions of affection and regard, offers to historical inquirers a wide field of investigation, which must be often traversed before its extent, nature, and produce can be thoroughly known. The high roads which historians have cut through it, ingeniously avoid all the prospects which it was the interest of rival proprietors to hide; we have discovered some by-ways, not always the most pleasant or the most safe to travel, and we propose to examine them in succession.

Michel de Castelnau was the second son of a noble family settled at Mauvissiere in Touraine, where he was born, A.D. 1520. He embraced the profession of arms, and served under Brissac in Piedmont, Tuscany, and Corsica. His merits attracted the notice of Francis of Lorraine, Grand Prior of France, who became his patron, and offered to procure him admission into the chivalry of Malta. A visit to the island cured the young warrior of his ambition to become one of the priestly knights; he preferred returning with his patron to Paris, hoping through his means to gain the protection of the powerful house of Guise. A curious circumstance facilitated his advancement; the Cardinal of Lorraine happening to lament in his presence that he had missed hearing an eloquent sermon preached by the Bishop of Valence,

Castelnau, who had been more fortunate, offered to repeat the sermon from memory, and, furthermore, to imitate exactly the tones and attitudes of the preacher. The Cardinal declared that, if he succeeded, the best horse in the stable should be his reward; Castelnau made the attempt, and the unanimous approbation of all present vouched for his success. He received the horse; but the Cardinal did not limit himself to such a boon; he strenuously recommended Castelnau to all the princes of the house of Guise, and procured him several lucrative employments. This is probably the only recorded instance of a courtier rising by paying attention to sermons, and it is edifying to find that it occurred in one of the most profligate courts that ever existed in Europe.

In the latter part of the reign of Henry II, Castelnau held several important offices; he was intrusted with the superintendence of the garrisons of Picardy after the battle of St. Quentin; he had a share in negotiating the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis, and he was sent as ambassador to Elizabeth who had just ascended the throne of England, to procure her consent to the articles of pacification.

Though Castelnau has left no direct record of this embassy, yet, from the documents which he collected, and which have been subjoined to his memoirs by his friendly commentator and continuator, Le Laboreur, we are enabled to glean some

particulars, which are not without value as materials for English History. Elizabeth was at this time very anxious to remove all doubts respecting her legitimacy, and she was, therefore, particularly anxious to learn in what light the marriage of her unfortunate mother was viewed in the court of France. On this subject, Castelnau was prepared to give her satisfactory explanation; he showed that the divorce of Catherine of Arragon was originally devised by Cardinal Wolsey, out of spite to Charles V; that he hoped to place in her room the Duchess of Alençon, sister to the King of France, who was a handsome and sprightly widow; and that this project had been sanctioned by Francis I. and his mother Louisa. This was high authority for the validity of the grounds on which the divorce was pronounced: it remained to vindicate the marriage with Anne Boleyn. It appeared that Anne's first intimacy with the King originated in her anxiety to promote the French match; she had known the Duchess of Alençon when she went to France as lady of honour to the Princess Mary, and had been taken under her protection, when Mary's precipitate marriage with the Duke of Suffolk compelled that lady to return to England. Anne Boleyn's memory was thus relieved from the reproach of having taken part against Catherine from purely selfish motives. Her opinion of the invalidity of Henry's first marriage was formed before she had a hope

of becoming a queen; she entered into these intrigues to promote the interests of another, and to the King's passion, not to her own ambition, was owing the change that placed her upon the throne which she had designed for her friend.

Nor was this all: Castelnau had documents to prove that the French court had not only recognised Anne Boleyn as a legitimate Queen, but had eagerly courted her friendship and alliance. Admiral Chabot had been sent into England, soon after the birth of Elizabeth, to negotiate a treaty with Henry which was to be cemented by a contract of marriage between the infant princess and the Duke of Angoulême, third son of Francis I. Henry VIII, who had just acknowledged Elizabeth as his only legitimate child, eagerly entered into the project; he demanded that Francis and all the authorities of his kingdom, should unite in obtaining from the pope a solemn sanction of Catherine's divorce and Anne Boleyn's marriage; that the Duke of Angoulême should be educated in England; and that, in case of his accession to the English crown, the Duchy of Angoulême should be independent of France. Francis assented to these conditions; but, in return, he demanded that Henry should give up the annual pension paid by France, and should give its monarch effective aid in the wars of Savoy. Here the negotiation was wrecked; Henry was equally rapacious and extravagant, he declared that the pension was but a poor con-

sideration for giving the heiress of England to a younger son of France, and, at the same time, he asserted the illegitimacy of Mary in such coarse terms, that the ambassador turned away in disgust.

Chabot returned to France and left the conduct of the negotiations to his secretary, Palamedes Goutier. The interviews which Goutier had with Henry and with Wolsey's successor, Cromwell, led to no decisive result, he, therefore, applied himself to Anne Boleyn who was anxious for the match, especially as she had begun to dread the caprice of her fickle husband. Goutier says that when he presented the letters with which he was entrusted for her, she seemed quite terrified; she dreaded lest her intercourse with him might excite jealousy; she declared that she felt herself on the brink of ruin, and expressed an eager desire to have the support of the King of France. It is evident, from the tone of the letter, that Goutier foresaw Anne's approaching ruin, and this, probably, induced him to suspend the negotiations for the proposed marriage. How far this information was satisfactory to Elizabeth, we have no means of ascertaining, further than that ever afterwards she evinced the highest respect for Castelnau. To him the evidence of Elizabeth's legitimacy appeared conclusive; he steadily asserted her claims to the crown whenever they were disputed, and thus weakened the ties which bound him to the house of Guise.

Castelnau returned to France just at the time

when the death of Henry II. taught the world that vice in a monarch is more pardonable than weakness. His successor, Francis II., was influenced by his beautiful Queen, Mary Stuart, to entrust the entire power of the state to her relatives the Guises; their pride alienated the nobility, their bigotry drove the Protestants to take up arms, and their ambition endangered the crown. Castelnau having been sent to announce the accession of Francis II. to the Duke of Savoy, and, afterwards, on a secret mission to Rome, does not describe the early intrigues of this reign from personal knowledge, we shall, therefore, turn at once to the conspiracy of Amboise, which he was officially employed to investigate.

Castelnau, though a rigid Catholic, was an enlightened advocate of toleration; he states, very fairly, the cruel severities to which the Protestants were subject, and the reasons they had to fear that nothing short of their extermination would satisfy the house of Guise, and he then vituperates them for entering into secret confederacies for mutual defence. "The Protestants," he says, "in their secret assemblies, did not limit themselves to the exercise of their religion, but discussed the affairs of state, a matter equally pernicious in a monarchy and a republic." This charge, which others, besides Castelnau, who object to persecution in the gross have made an excuse for permitting it in detail, is one of those plausible excuses with

which men gloss over the crimes of their party which cannot be vindicated or denied. The assemblies of the Protestants were "secret," because the privilege of public worship was denied them, and they discussed "affairs of state," simply because the edicts of their adversaries had made their religion an affair of state. "They conspired," he says, "to remove the Guises from the court, and the person of the king, and to place in their stead the King of Navarre, first prince of the blood, the Prince of Condé, and the family of Chastillon, which belonged to their party. But it is a strange thing to wish to give the law to one's sovereign, and to prevent the exercise of his prerogative in choosing what ministers he pleases." We must not be surprised to find such doctrine advocated by Castelnau, for it is recorded in the State Trials that the attempt of the Earl of Essex to change Elizabeth's ministry by force was held to be high treason by all the lawyers of England.

From Castelnau's account, it would appear that this conspiracy was confined to the removal of the Guises; there is, however, abundant evidence to prove that such was not the case. The Cardinal of Lorraine, who undertook the administration of the finances on the accession of Francis II. dismissed several officers of the royal household, and disbanded a large portion of the army without making any provision to discharge their arrears of pay. The soldiers began to clamour, upon which

the Cardinal commanded gibbets to be erected at Fontainebleau, and threatened to hang thereon every mutineer who did not instantly go to his native home. This plan of making a state of suspension a cure for a state of suspense, was effective for the moment, but the persons thus plundered filled the whole country with their complaints; and as many of them belonged to noble families, the discontent spread rapidly. The Guises, aware of their unpopularity, refused to convoke the States-General; and this, combined with other circumstances, led to the belief that they had formed a plan for rendering their power permanent, and even usurping the throne.

The conspirators met at Nantes; where they resolved to arrest the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, who were with the King at Blois, and to compel the King to bring them to trial as public delinquents and traitors. With consummate folly, they resolved to defer the execution of their designs for a month; they were betrayed long before the day appointed for action; the King removed from Blois to the Castle of Amboise, and as the conspirators came in separate parties to the place of rendezvous, they were intercepted by the royal army, which occupied all the roads. Many of the unfortunate prisoners declared that they had only come to join in presenting a petition to the King for a general redress of grievances. The greater part of these mis-

guided beings perished by military execution; one night every battlement of the castle had a wretched victim hung from it; but this mode of decorating a royal residence excited so much horror, that the Guises adopted the plan of drowning their prisoners in the Loire; and this was done so carelessly and hastily, that the banks of the river were strewed with carcases.

Such was the conspiracy of Amboise, from which all historians agree to date the commencement of the civil wars of France. It was, indeed, a worthy type of them, for it was unwisely provoked, rashly formed, absurdly conducted, and murderously terminated. Another coincidence may be remarked; the conspiracy, like the civil wars, contributed, at first, to the aggrandisement of the House of Guise, but in its remote results it was one of the most untoward events which they encountered in their ambitious career.

Though the hanging and drowning of poor wretches, on any pretext, or on no pretext, were favourite amusements with monarchs and statesmen in this age, and, especially, when religious animosity was united with political suspicion, the Cardinal of Lorraine soon became wearied of destroying bodies for the mere good of souls, and he sought out victims whose forfeitures would pay the expences of prosecution. The Duke of Guise and the rest of the Lorraine family eagerly adopted this policy; they sought to involve in the con-

spiracy the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, the Colignis, and the chief leaders of the Huguenots.

A very slight examination of the political condition of France, at this period, will show that the cause of the Reformation in that country was unfortunately identified with that of a party whose complete success would have been equally perilous to the privileges of the monarch and the rights of the people. In no country had the great vassals of the crown possessed greater feudal independence than in France; and the whole history of the House of Valois exhibits a constant struggle to establish the supremacy of the royal authority. In this contest, the Church was the ally of the Monarchy; and, hence, the kings, in their turn, gave zealous aid to the ecclesiastical power in suppressing heresy. The feudal nobles were not slow to discover that the Church was the great enemy of their power, and hence many of them embraced the creed of the Huguenots, and a still greater number secretly favoured their cause. It is probable, also, that their zeal for the reformation of religion was sharpened by perceiving how greatly the wealth and power of the aristocracy in England and Scotland had been increased by the division of the spoils of the Church. From these causes, principally, combined with others of less moment, the Huguenot efforts for a reformation in France were a series of aristocratic movements

which the people not unnaturally hated, and which the monarchs not unjustly feared.

It was the general, but not the invariable practice of the House of Valois to select ministers not connected with any of the great French families; either foreigners or men of humble birth, who felt that their fortunes were dependent on the success of the crown. Such men naturally sought to strengthen themselves by an alliance with the Church, and foreigners, especially, sought an intimate connection with the court of Rome, because its supremacy over the Gallican Church was frequently resisted as a foreign usurpation, and the prelates nominated by the Vatican were deemed as great intruders as themselves. The princes of the House of Lorraine knew that they were regarded as foreign usurpers of the place and power which properly belonged to the French nobility, and they were thus natural allies of the Vatican in its usurpations on the independence of the French clergy.

The people of France, so far as they could be said to act as a body, took the side of the Guises and the Church; but, during the sixteenth century, "the people," in the modern sense of the word, took little or no part in any of the religious or political movements that convulsed Christendom. The players of these games had not yet discovered the value of the pawns; they were sacrificed wholesale on both sides, without the slightest hesi-

tation. Hence the Guises made no scruple in destroying all they caught approaching the rendezvous at Amboise, and hence, also, we find no trace of the Protestant or aristocratic leaders protesting against these ruthless massacres.

It was a different matter when the Guises struck at the Prince of Condé and accused him of having secretly organized the conspiracy of Amboise. As might have been expected, in an age where every event, great and small, is the subject of bitter controversy, no two historians are agreed as to the share which the Prince of Condé had in this plot. The difficulty, however, admits of an easy solution; to a certain extent, the object of the conspirators was laudable, they wished to lay before their sovereign a petition for redress of grievances, and it is very probable that the Prince of Condé had promised to present it; but this petition was very likely to resemble the supplication of the Spanish beggar who throws down his hat to ask charity, and, at the same time, presents his musket to enforce it; but it is improbable that this portion of their design was communicated to the Prince of Condé.

Were we to trust to the old proverb that "children and fools tell truth," we should expect to discover some truth in the letter which Francis II. wrote on the subject to the King of Navarre, for it is clearly the production both of childishness and folly. The imbecile King says, that

several of the victims had implicated the Prince of Condé, declaring that he had promised to present their petition, but that the Prince's protestations had convinced him that all the sufferers had died with falsehood on their lips (*que tous ces pendus avoient menti*), and he concludes by declaring that he was perfectly reconciled to the Prince. At the very time that this letter was written, Condé's servants were in prison, his correspondence seized, and himself placed under arrest.

Condé demanded to be heard in full council, and when this was granted, instead of answering the charges *seriatim*, he challenged his accusers to single combat. His words were, "Saving the persons of His Majesty, his brothers, the Queen-mother and the Queen-regnant, and the honour and reverence due to them, I declare that those who have named me chief of a conspiracy against the King and his dignity, have lied in their throats, and will lye as often as they repeat the calumny, and I offer to abandon the privileges of my princely rank to meet them in the field." This bravado was rendered completely absurd by the Duke of Guise standing up and declaring that he was so convinced of the Prince's honour, that he would be his second if any one accepted the challenge. Such excessive dissimulation was too much even for the French court, and on a signal from the Cardinal of Lorraine, the King dissolved the assembly.

While the Guises were endeavouring to render the conspiracy of Amboise subservient to their ambition in France, they had undertaken a similar enterprize against the nobility and the Protestants of Scotland, ignorant of the very different position which royalty held in that country, from what it did in France. They hoped that as they ruled France in the name of the king, they could govern Scotland in the name of the Queen, and hence they urged Mary of Guise to a series of attacks on the Protestant religion and on the nobility of Scotland, which soon provoked a civil war. Elizabeth of England was well aware that the success of the Guises would endanger her crown; she could not, as yet, compete with them in France; but she had it in her power to aid the malcontents of Scotland, which she did so effectually that the French were beaten out of every stronghold except the town of Leith, and that was closely besieged. In consequence, however, of the half-measures adopted by Elizabeth, whose policy at this crisis we shall have an opportunity of examining hereafter, the French cause might have been restored, and the Scottish Reformation thrown back, had the Guises sent a sufficient force to relieve Leith, and to give courage to the enemies of the Lords of the congregation, as the leaders of the Scottish revolt were called. The English and Scottish historians assert that the princes of Lorraine abandoned

their party in Scotland without making any effort for its support; but this is a mistake, the Guises fitted out two expeditions for the relief of Leith, but anxious to keep all power among the members of their own family, they ruined the cause of their sister and niece, in the hope of advancing their brothers.

The first armament was entrusted to the Marquis d'Elboeuf who assembled an army at Dieppe, but he spent the time of action in plundering and insulting those who were suspected of being Huguenots, and when, at length, he put to sea, a violent storm wrecked his transports and compelled him to return. In order to remedy this disaster, another brother, the Grand Prior of Lorraine, was entrusted with the charge of bringing the galleys of France from the Mediterranean round to the British Channel, and Castelnau accompanied him in the expedition. The Grand Prior made it a voyage of pleasure; he stopped for refreshments at almost every port he passed, and, as Brantôme says, "no one was vexed with the delay, for we all found mistresses as well as the general." At Lisbon, the Grand Prior remained until he was informed that Leith would be surrendered unless it was relieved within twenty days. He then set sail in such a hurry that he forgot to provide pilots, and the entire fleet narrowly escaped destruction. At length, the armament reached Nantes, the sailors refusing to

proceed further without pay, and Castelnau went to Paris for further orders. But the Guises saw that it was now too late to relieve Leith, and they hastened to conclude a treaty with Elizabeth. By the terms of this treaty they virtually abandoned the entire government of Scotland to the nobility, and laid the foundation of the calamities that afterwards overtook their unfortunate niece.

The escape of the Prince of Condé from the court, and the protection afforded him by the King of Navarre, filled the Guises with alarm. They prevailed on Francis II. to invite the princes to his council, giving them the strongest assurances of safety, and they were aided by Catherine de Medicis, who, though jealous of the Guises, was still more afraid of the princes of the blood. These invitations persuaded Navarre and Condé to attend the meeting of the States-General at Meaux; and they were further induced to adopt this perilous course by a mistaken belief that the Huguenots would muster strong in that assembly. The change of the place of meeting from Meaux to Orleans, removed the princes from all chance of obtaining Huguenot aid; the Guises occupied Orleans with a strong garrison, and even quartered large bodies of their retainers in private houses. Information of these alarming preparations was sent to the Prince of Condé, but he replied that the plighted promises of the King and the Queen-mother were sufficient assurances

of safety, and that he desired no other protection.

The excessive confidence manifested by the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, has been severely censured by the Huguenot historians; and it is only by examining the memoirs and letters of the time, particularly those brought to light by modern research, that we are able to give a satisfactory explanation of their conduct. Castelnau only records the share which the Guises had in the transaction; and this he does correctly, for he was employed as one of their agents; but we must look to other sources for the intrigues set on foot by Catherine de Medicis, which have escaped the notice of most who have written her history.

Cardinal de Bourbon, brother of Condé and of Navarre, was a prelate of a mild and credulous disposition; he was easily induced by Catherine de Medicis to undertake the task of reconciling his brethren to the court, especially as the queen, with tears in her eyes, expressed her fears that France and Spain might unite to destroy the kingdom of Navarre. The Cardinal undertook the mission; but he could scarcely have succeeded, had not the Guises previously corrupted the principal advisers of the King of Navarre, and particularly his chancellor, Amaury Bouchard. This traitor had been foremost in urging his master to organise a party for the overthrow of the Guises,

believing that a revolution in the ministry would lead to his being appointed Chancellor of France. But the weakness and indecision of the King of Navarre filled him with alarm, while he had reason to fear that if Condé became the head of the party, all his hopes of promotion would be destroyed. Without waiting to be solicited, he offered himself as an agent and spy to the princes of Lorraine; in obedience to their wishes he represented to the nobles of Navarre that Condé was planning a civil war merely to gratify his ambition, and that the king would be sacrificed in the attempt to give power to the prince. In consequence of these representations, it was unanimously resolved that the King of Navarre should go to Orleans, whether Condé accompanied him or not. This resolution gave fresh strength to the representations of the Cardinal; he declared that Condé's obstinacy would bring suspicion on the entire family, and the Prince at length consented to go to Orleans, in opposition to the dictates of his own judgment and the advice of his private friends.

The Protestant nobles shared in the suspicions of Condé's council; they offered to raise an armed force, to protect both him and the King of Navarre; that monarch, afraid to consent, and unwilling to refuse, appointed a rendezvous of his friends at Limoges, in order to determine their future conduct. A great number of the Protestant

nobles, and deputies from most of the Protestant churches, assembled at the appointed place; the nobles offered to raise amongst themselves a body of eight or nine hundred horse, and the deputies proposed to organise six thousand infantry, to be kept in arms for six months. No provision, however, was made for the payment of these troops; and while this difficulty was under consideration, the Cardinal d' Armagnac arrived with fresh professions of friendship from Catherine de Medicis, which had such influence on the King of Navarre, that all precautions were set aside. The Protestants, who had offered their services as an escort, were indignant at being dismissed. When the King of Navarre took leave of them, he declared that he would procure pardon for them from the King, for having appeared in arms.

"Pardon!" replied one of them indignantly, "think of asking pardon for yourselves, since you are yielding yourselves prisoners, with the rope round your necks; you will have more need of it than we have, for we are resolved to sell our lives dearly, and to die rather than submit ourselves to the mercy of those detestable enemies of the King and the kingdom. Your rashness is about to deprive us of leaders, but we trust that God will raise up a chief who will commiserate our condition, and deliver us from the oppression of tyrants." This speech, we are assured by Regnier, was received with shouts of laughter by the King

of Navarre and his courtiers, though it is exceedingly difficult to discover in what consisted the joke.

Navarre and Condé pursued their journey, attended only by their ordinary suite. A fresh source of alarm appeared when they were refused admission into Poictiers, but Catherine changed this event into an additional means of creating delusive confidence, by sending letters to apologise for the mistake, and deputing the Marshal de Termes to invite the princes to Poictiers. The Marshal performed his part so skilfully, that all suspicions were removed, and, as Marillac said, "the princes were lulled to sleep like children, with fruits and comfitures."

On the last day of October, 1560, the Prince of Condé reached Orleans, but ere the sun set he was a close prisoner, and the bail offered by the King of Navarre was refused. This decisive blow dispirited all the enemies of the Guises except Condé himself; from his prison he hurled defiance at his triumphant foes; he refused to hear mass from the priests who were sent to him, and when it was proposed that he should have a meeting with the Guises, he declared that the only appointment he would make should be at the point of his lance.

The trial and condemnation of the Prince followed as matters of course; Castelnau dwells at great length on the irregularities of the procedure,

and manifestly deems the omission of certain legal formalities a greater crime than the course of treachery by which the Prince had been duped; but these technicalities can have little interest for the reader, because, under any circumstances, the trial would have been a mere idle form. The 26th of November was fixed for his execution; but before the fatal day arrived, Francis II. had fallen into incurable disease, and his case was pronounced hopeless by his physicians.

A series of dark intrigues occupied the attention of all parties, and the life of Condé depended on their result. Catherine was ambitious of the regency during the minority of the next heir; the Guises endeavoured to persuade her that she could ensure it only by removing both Condé and Navarre; but she had wisdom enough to see that such a crime would only transfer the power to the House of Lorraine, and she, therefore, resolved to adopt a different course. The life of Condé was spared on condition that the King of Navarre would resign all claims to the regency in favour of the Queen-mother, which he did very readily, as he was not ambitious of the office. Catherine was not satisfied with this success; she induced the King of Navarre to become reconciled to the Guises, or, at least, to go through the form of renewing friendship. In the midst of these intrigues Francis II. expired; but the courtiers were so occupied preparing for a new reign, that no re-

spect was paid to his corpse, and the expences of his funeral were defrayed by one of his servants.

At the accession of Francis II. the house of Lorraine aspired to rule over France, Scotland, and England; during the eighteen months of his reign they had contrived to render their cause hopeless in the two latter countries, and the maintenance of their power in France dependant on the chances of civil war. Their intrigues, their violence and their crimes, had only tended to strengthen their rivals: their boasted wisdom had produced worse results than the most monstrous folly. The most lamentable consequence of their policy was the fate of Mary Stuart: acting under the advice of her uncles, she had provoked the hostility both of Catherine and Elizabeth, and during the rest of her life she was never for a moment without feeling the effects of the vengeance of both. Mary had cruelly mortified Catherine, by declaring that she would never be anything better than the daughter of a tradesman, and this sarcasm on the mercantile origin of the Medicis was never forgiven or forgotten.

But this was not the only cause of Catherine's hatred; a lovely widow of eighteen, dowager of France and Queen of Scotland in her own right, might have become a dangerous rival when directed by such artful intriguers as the Princes of Lorraine. Scarcely had the tomb closed over her husband when plans for her second marriage

began to be freely discussed. The son of the King of Spain was the first candidate; the King of Navarre, apparently without his consent, was proposed as a second, and his Queen, Jane d'Albret, was to be divorced on the ground of heresy; the new monarch, Charles IX, was regarded as likely to be a third, and Catherine saw that the success of any one of these plans would be fatal to her power. Castelnau obscurely hints that Mary herself had a secret preference for the Duke d'Anville, who afterwards accompanied her to Scotland, and his continuator, who had recourse to portions of his memoirs which have not been published, declares, that she openly said she would select D'Anville for her husband if he were a widower. De Thou adds that some of D'Anville's friends proposed to remove his wife by poison, and that they were much surprised at his having the virtue to reject the offer. The Guises sacrificed their niece to Catherine; they persuaded her to return to Scotland, and in an evil hour she yielded to their advice.

The transfer of power from the Guises to Catherine was attended with many beneficial changes in the administration; an edict of toleration relieved the Huguenots from persecution, efforts were made to regulate the finances, and the expenditure of the court was greatly reduced. Castelnau had no ostensible share in these trans-

actions; but he seems to have discovered that the appearances of tranquillity were delusive, and that the violence of parties would burst forth with greater fury than ever, at no distant date. But though not an actor in the scenes, Castelnau was far from being a careless spectator, and he has left us by far the most impartial and intelligible account of the origin of the first civil and religious war in France which we possess.

We have already seen that the opposition to the Guises was two-fold, aristocratic and religious; these elements were sometimes combined, and sometimes independent—a circumstance which not a little perplexes the history of these events. The Constable Montmorenci, a Catholic, scarcely less zealous than the Guises themselves, was bitterly opposed to them on political grounds, for they had deprived him of the power which he wielded in the reign of Henry II. His nephews, the Admiral and Andelot Coligni, while they shared Montmorenci's political dislike of the Princes of Lorraine, were much more hostile to them as persecutors of the Protestants; the Prince of Condé in addition to both causes was animated by a bitter sense of personal injury, and the King of Navarre, who shared his feelings, vacillated between the desire of leading a party and dread of the consequences. The Princes of Lorraine were zealously supported by the Church and the populace. Their influence with the mob rendered

them more powerful in Paris than the King himself, and during the brief reign of Francis II. they had filled all the offices about the court with their creatures.

Immediately after her appointment to the Regency, Catherine deemed it prudent to strengthen the Protestant party as a counterpoise to the Guises, and in this policy she was zealously supported by Castelnau, who was an enlightened advocate of toleration. But he was too wise to support one of the plans for pacification, which he foresaw would lead to a contrary result; this was the Conference at Poissy between a certain number of Protestant and Catholic divines, in order to determine which of the two religions was the better, and, if possible, reconcile their differences.

The farce of a public disputation has been so often repeated, and with the same invariable results, that the history of the Conference at Poissy may be told in a few words. The rival theologians poured ridicule and contempt on everything which their opponents held sacred; the charges of idolatry, blasphemy and stupidity were reciprocated; each declared that the other ought to be swept off the face of the earth; strength of argument became of less importance in the controversy than strength of lungs; the conference broke up in most admired confusion, leaving the parties more widely separated than ever.

Exaggerated reports of some imprudent sarcasms uttered by the Protestant divines were circulated through France, and they furnished the texts with which the priests in town and country exasperated the fury of their several congregations.

Neither the political nor the religious enemies of the Guises seem ever to have calculated on the amount of influence brought to bear against them by the Established Church of France; they did not comprehend that the alliance between the ecclesiastics and the Guises secured the latter an influential agent in every parish, and a zealous advocate in every church;—an advocate, too, who had no fear that his statements could be refuted or contradicted, being sheltered from both by the sanctity of the pulpit. With ordinary prudence they might have formed an anti-Romish party in the Gallican church, but they preferred taking their model of a reformation from Geneva, and thus exposed themselves to the hostility not only of the papacy, but of the prelacy.

The consequences which Castelnau foresaw from the conference of Poissy were not slow in appearing. A Protestant congregation used to assemble near the church of St. Medard, in Paris; the priests were indignant at hearing the hymns and psalms of the Huguenots, which, in truth, were not among the most inviting specimens of poetry or music, to overwhelm the sound of which they set all their

bells ringing whenever the congregation assembled; and, as St. Medard possessed an excellent peal, the voice of the Huguenot minister was drowned by the noise. This ingenious plan of trusting the defence of the church to the steeple was continued for some time; at length, the Huguenots sent a deputation to the priests requesting them to put a stop to the annoyance; but they rang out in sheer defiance a louder peal than ever; "they pulled at the ropes with all their might, exhorting each other to perseverance, and shouting with joy when the crash was loudest." The enraged Huguenots rushed to the church, and began to batter down the doors; the priests became alarmed, their note of triumph declined to "a quaver of consternation," and they raised a tocsin of alarm to gather the zealous Catholics in their defence. But before the faithful flock could rally round their pastors, the church-doors were broken, and a furious struggle commenced round the altar. The images of the saints and the shrines of the relics furnished weapons of war; the priests fought gallantly, but they were at length outnumbered, and made prisoners just as a detachment of the civic guard came to quell the riot. The priests were delivered to the guard by their conquerors, and were marched off to prison by its commanders, who acted on the principle, that the defeated party was sure to be in the wrong.

The next day, the Catholics assembled in force, stormed a Huguenot conventicle, made a bonfire of the books and benches, gutted the house, and were proceeding to set it on fire, when the royal guard arrived and dispersed the mob. On this occasion, the Huguenots having been worsted, supplied the quota of prisoners necessary to prove the activity of the civic authorities, and they were sent to share the confinement of their antagonists. The Queen-regent entrusted a mixed commission with the charge of inquiring into this riot; the members being of opposite parties, strenuously insisted on the innocence of their own friends; the leaders of the riot consequently escaped, and the vengeance of the law fell on a third party, the archers of the city guard, some dozen of whom were hung for their impartiality in arresting and plundering both parties.

This ridiculous affair was the first signal for civil war; when the news of it spread abroad, the Huguenots and Catholics fought wherever they met; the priests declaimed against sacrilege in the churches, and the ministers against idolatry in the conventicles; the riots of St. Medard were renewed in various parts of the kingdom, and every bell that rung was regarded as a triumph by one party and an insult by the other. It might, indeed, be said that this was a musical war, for the Catholics disliked the singing of the Huguenots as much as the latter did the ringing

of the bells of St. Medard; and the Huguenots, imitating the vexatious conduct of the priests, extended their system of congregational singing until it became a nuisance to the neighbourhood of every conventicle.

Catherine was sadly perplexed by the war between the bells and the psalms; she assembled a council at St. Germains, and, acting under the advice of the Chancellor L'Hôpital, attempted to mediate between the two parties. Castelnau throws the blame of her failure on the Protestants; he says, that if they had taken the church of England instead of that of Geneva for their model, they could have established a reformed episcopal church, and that many leaders of the Catholics, himself included, would have willingly joined them for such a purpose. There can be no doubt that this would have been the wisest course for the Protestants to have adopted; indeed, it appears to have been suggested to them by Castelnau, and to have been secretly recommended by Queen Elizabeth; but the project was at once and decisively rejected.

An accidental rencontre accelerated the outbreak of civil war; though in the heated temper of parties it is improbable that peace, under any circumstances, could have been long preserved. To gain a temporary triumph, the leaders of both parties had kindled the fanaticism of their several factions, and they now discovered, when too late,

that they had evoked a spirit too powerful to be controlled. The massacre of Vassy was the spark which kindled the conflagration, and only for this circumstance it would have been long since forgotten; but, though not important in itself, it had such weighty consequences, that we shall give the account of it which Castelnau collected from those who were personally engaged in the transaction.

The Duke of Guise, on his road to Paris, passed through Vassy on a Sunday, where he halted to obtain some refreshment. The officers who were with him hearing that there was a Huguenot conventicle in the neighbourhood, went, partly from curiosity and partly from enmity, to watch its proceedings. They began to interrupt the singing of the congregation by unseemly noises, and insulted those who remonstrated with them by calling them "rebels and heretics." The Protestants retorted with the nicknames "Papists and idolaters;" words soon led to blows, and the disturbers of the congregation were compelled to give way. Some of them brought word to the Duke of Guise that his followers were in danger; without waiting to make inquiry, he assembled his escort, rode to the scene of action, charged the congregation, intending, as he declared, merely to disperse the crowd; but, having been severely cut in the face by a stone, he allowed his fol-

lowers to give full scope to their rage, and a large number of the Huguenots became their victims.

Catherine would have gladly prevented or punished this outrage; but the power which she had laboured so hard to acquire, had now passed into other hands. The Duke of Guise, the Constable Montmorenci, and the Marshal St. Andrè, formed a triumvirate, which could not be resisted, and the accession of the King of Navarre to their party, almost deprived her of hope. The triumvirate brought both Catherine and her son, Charles IX, to Paris, in spite of their tears and remonstrances, where they were virtually prisoners to the bigoted populace. The Prince of Condé and the Colignis were not only excluded from court, but were openly denounced as enemies. Catherine secretly advised them to have recourse to arms for their own protection, and for her deliverance; in obedience to her precepts they seized the city of Orleans, declaring that they had taken up arms "for the service of the king and queen, and that of the kingdom in their behalf."

We may, on a future occasion, revert to the history of this extraordinary war; but, at present, our attention must be confined to that part of it in which Castelnau was engaged. He was sent to Normandy, where the Huguenots had seized several of the sea-ports, and had opened negotiations with Elizabeth for admitting English gar-

risons into the fortresses. Castelnau endeavoured to open negotiations with Montgomery, the leader of the revolt; but, at the same time, he urgently laboured to bring up an army from Brittany sufficient to overwhelm the Huguenots. His sincerity was justly suspected by the insurgents, both because the Norman parliaments continued to persecute the Protestants during the negotiation, and because he was discovered sharing in an intrigue to transfer the government of Normandy from the moderate Duc de Bouillon to the violent Duc d'Aumale and the profligate Grand Prior of Lorraine. Bouillon, justly indignant, gave secret information to the Huguenots of Castelnau's movements; he, consequently, fell into an ambuscade, and was made prisoner. His misfortune did not daunt him; he undertook the hopeless task of mediating peace, and was allowed on his parole of honour to make several visits to the court.

One of the chief difficulties in effecting a peace was to ascertain what were the grounds of war; the follies of the leaders of the extreme Protestants and Catholics, the intrigues of Catherine, the ambition of the Guises, the jealousies of the princes of the blood, and the feudal interests of the French nobility, had so complicated affairs, that it was impossible to discover what basis of negotiations would embrace the causes of hostility. The ultra-Catholics were resolved to ex-

tirpate heresy, and said so; the ultra-Protestants were equally anxious to destroy idolatry, but did not avow it; the triumvirs declared that they alone were competent to save religion and the monarchy, and, therefore, demanded to monopolize the administration; the Huguenot aristocracy insisted that the Guises were tyrants over the King and the kingdom, and that they ought to be stripped of all power. Catherine negotiated with all parties, hoping to secure the entire management of the state by balancing one party against the other; and Castelnau embraced the same course of policy, because he believed that it alone would restore public tranquillity. Elizabeth's interference added to the confusion; she was reluctant to join the French Protestants, because their principles too closely resembled those of the English Puritans, whom she thoroughly detested; and at the same time she was anxious to prevent the ascendancy of the House of Guise, which had opposed her accession to the throne, and still disputed her title. At length, she sent an army into Normandy under the command of the Earl of Warwick (elder brother of the Earl of Leicester), at the same time declaring in her manifesto that she invaded France as an ally of the French King and people. Castelnau, however, declares that she hoped to conquer the province of Normandy, and annex it to the English crown; but this is obviously improbable, for she

sent a very small amount of forces, and was very remiss in affording even to them the necessary munitions of war.

Without entering into the details of battles and sieges, most of which come more properly under the consideration of the general historian, we shall confine our attention to the strange, but successful policy, which Castelnau pursued under the direction of Catherine. It soon appeared that the Huguenots were the weaker party, and it became her great object to save them from annihilation. She would have failed had not the leaders of the Catholics been suddenly removed from the scene. The Constable Montmorenci was made a prisoner, the Marshal St. Andrè and the renegade King of Navarre fell in battle, and the Duke of Guise was assassinated by Poltrot while besieging Orleans. The last event was doubly favourable to Catherine; it removed her greatest rival, and the blame of the assassination having been thrown on the Colignis, she was able to excite popular odium against the only Protestant leaders who had withstood her arts and solicitations.

Female charms were now employed to win over several of the Huguenot nobles; Catherine employed some of her female brigade to prove that the pleasures of the court were preferable to the toils of the camp; even Condé yielded to the voice of the sirens, and a peace was negotiated

with a rapidity quite unusual in diplomatic affairs. The Admiral Coligni, who was fast retrieving the losses which the Huguenots had suffered in Normandy, was invited to Orleans to discuss the terms proposed by the Queen; but the treaty was signed before his arrival, and he could not get any party to consent to a revision of the articles.

This war lasted little more than two years, but the amount of crimes committed and sufferings endured in this short space of time is almost incredible; seven hundred and sixty-five thousand two hundred persons were killed; two thousand three hundred matrons and maidens were violated; nine cities were burned and razed to the ground; two hundred and fifty-two villages were consumed; four thousand two hundred and fifty-six chateaus and country seats were burned, and one hundred and eighty thousand houses destroyed in various ways. Castelnau argues justly that such misery should induce the wildest bigots to make any sacrifice rather than provoke a religious war; but his pious continuator declares, that the cities of France were like fish-ponds, for after they had been swept by the nets, they soon supplied the loss of population by fresh broods, and, in a few months, were as well stocked as ever.

Favourable terms were granted to the Huguenots by the edict of pacification, but no securities

of moment were given for the fulfilment of the articles; yet so blinded was the Prince of Condé, and most of the leaders, that they tendered their services to the court for the expulsion of the English, whom they had themselves invited to France. Coligni refused to have any share in such a transaction, but the rest joined in besieging their former allies in Havre. Famine and pestilence compelled the Earl of Warwick to capitulate before succours arrived from England; he obtained, however, honourable terms, and the highest respect was shewn to the English officers by Catherine and her son.

Castelnau was the principal agent in negotiating the capitulation and the subsequent treaty of peace with England. According to his account, Elizabeth had been reluctantly drawn into this war by the misrepresentations of Throgmorton, her ambassador in France, and by her fears of an insurrection of the Catholics in England if the Huguenots had been destroyed. To these motives was added a desire to recover Calais, the loss of which in Mary's reign was regarded as one of the greatest losses and disgraces that could befal the English nation. Elizabeth, subsequently, declared that she considered her share in this war a political blunder, and, she might have added, that her first proceedings for restoring peace were well calculated to increase her embarrassments. She had treated De Foix, the

French ambassador in England, as a prisoner, without making any apology for such a violation of the law of nations, and she chose Throgmorton to be one of her envoys to the court of France, though she knew that he was detested by the French government, and generally believed to be the cause of the war.

To Castelnau was entrusted the delicate charge of arresting the English envoys, Throgmorton and Smith; the former as a public enemy, and the latter as a hostage for De Foix. Throgmorton was the first seized; Castelnau informed him that his arrest was a necessary precaution for his safety, because he was equally hated by the Catholics and Huguenots, and, in fact, by all the people of France. Throgmorton, who piqued himself on his eloquence, replied with sundry arguments, which Castelnau was unable to refute, so he cut short the debate by sending him under a guard to St. Germain de Laye. Smith made no opposition to his arrest; he consented to everything which Castelnau required, and even opened negotiations for peace without consulting his colleague. Throgmorton protested against such a course; but Smith knew that his mistress was weary of the war, and he soon arranged the preliminaries on which the treaty of Troyes was subsequently based.

At the age of fourteen, Charles IX. was declared to have attained his majority; but Cathe-

rine still governed in his name, without the responsibility attached to the title of Regent. Castelnau was one of her most faithful adherents; he was a supporter of toleration from principle; she, at this time, protected the Huguenots from policy, because she found that they alone could enable her to resist the ascendancy of the Guises. For the same reason, she was anxious to prevent any renewal of the civil wars. The military prowess of the House of Lorraine was one great element of its popularity, and were the Huguenots crushed by the Guises, the Catholics would have given them the whole power of the kingdom. The destinies of France, it might be said of Christendom, were dependent on the power which a crafty mother exercised over a weak child; everybody talked incessantly about religion and politics, but no one seriously regarded either, being engrossed in determining which party should have the monopoly of places and pensions.

The Guises were well aware that the edict of pacification would be fatal to their power; the bigotry of the populace was their great support against the hostility of the court, the nobles, and the Protestants, and they, therefore, exerted all their influence to rekindle the flames of persecution. They would probably have succeeded had not Catherine removed the King from Paris,

and thus rescued him from the coercion of the mob.

A new effort was made to excite a tumult by charging Coligni with having hired Poltrot to murder the Duke of Guise. The widow of the Duke, accompanied by her children and her principal relatives, clothed in deep mourning, unexpectedly presented themselves at court, and throwing themselves on their knees before Charles IX, besought him to give them justice. The inquiries that were made into the circumstances of the assassination ended in doubts, which have not been quite dispelled in our own day, and as Castelnau was in some measure implicated, we cannot pass the subject over.

Poltrot was arrested immediately after the murder, and interrogated by a commission, consisting of the principal nobles in the royal army. The result of his examination was published, and it is certain that he declared that he was instigated to the crime by Coligni, the celebrated preacher Theodore Beza, and several other Huguenot leaders; he named the time and place of different consultations, in which Beza had taught him that the murder of the Duke of Guise would be an acceptable service to God; he stated that the admiral had given him a hundred crowns to purchase a Spanish horse on which he might make his escape, and that he had bought such

a horse from Castelnau; and, finally, he declared that assassins were prepared to murder several other Catholic leaders, as well as the Duke of Guise.

As Poltrot varied his story at every fresh examination, and denied the whole of it at the place of execution, very little importance would have been attached to his declarations, had not the admiral unfortunately published a reply to them, in which he made some admissions by no means creditable to his character. In this imprudent document, Coligni asserts that he had employed Poltrot as a useful spy; that his principles were opposed to assassination, though the Guises had set him the example by employing persons to murder himself; that he had heard Poltrot speak about assassinating the Duke of Guise, but thought that it was a matter of idle boast; and, finally, that he had more than once warned his enemies of similar plots which had been formed for their destruction. This defence was sent with a still more imprudent letter to the Queen, in which the following passage occurs:—"Do not think that what I have said arises from any regret for the death of the Duke of Guise; I esteem it the greatest blessing which could have occurred to this kingdom and the church of God, and particularly to me and my family."

This defence, including as it does, recrimination on the House of Guise, a confession of some

knowledge of Poltrot's design, and an undisguised exultation at its success, gave plausibility to the charges of further complicity urged by the Admiral's enemies, and rendered it impossible for his friends to assert his complete innocence. A second apology was published, in which the admiral repeated his former avowal, and concluded with a rodomontade in the shape of a challenge, which was well calculated to excite general indignation. "If any one," said he, "wishes for further explanation, let him call upon me personally, and he shall have a suitable reply."

The appearance of the widow and children of the murdered Duke produced such an effect, that orders were given to the parliament of Paris to inquire into the charges against the Admiral. This would have been equivalent to a sentence, for all the members of the parliament were bigoted Catholics and the avowed enemies of Coligni, but the Admiral appealed to the King in council; the interest of the case was soon lost in the technicalities of law, and, finally, Charles, acting under the advice of Catherine, ordered that all proceedings should be suspended for three years, which, in France, was equivalent to an adjournment to the Greek calends.

With Coligni's escape, the first of the religious wars of France may be said to have terminated; the Guises were so disappointed that they retired to their country-seats, and Catherine retained the

entire administration of affairs, which was the great object of her ambition. Castelnau, having successfully aided in putting an end to a war which was ruinous in itself, and the pregnant source of future evils, proceeded to exercise his abilities in a different stage, where his career was too important not to be discussed in a separate section.

It is impossible to read Castelnau's account of the first religious war of France without feeling that he is, in general, an unprejudiced writer. He was not duped by the religious pretensions of either party; he saw that the leaders on both sides appealed to fanaticism and fostered bigotry, but were themselves actuated by purely selfish motives. He was, throughout the struggle, a supporter of the policy of Catherine, which, under the circumstances of the case, was undoubtedly the best; but he was not blind to the folly of those who were her unconscious instruments, and he, therefore, avoided committing himself as her partisan in public. It is, however, necessary to add, that he bore a part in the farces which followed the tragedy of war. Catherine resolved to secure by dissipation the power which she had acquired by cunning; she gave a series of splendid entertainments at Fontainebleau, in which her band of ladies bore a conspicuous part; grave councillors, veteran warriors, and prudent ambassadors, shared in masquerades and tournaments

with the younger branches of the nobility and the dissipated followers of the court. In the midst of these frolics, many leaders of the Huguenots forgot the interests both of their religion and their order; the sirens were more efficacious than the preachers, the belles of the court drowned the hymns and psalms more effectually than the bells of St. Medard; and those who had withstood showers of balls in the battle-field, were overcome by one ball in the palace. It is a pity that such a plan of government should be too expensive to be continued, and that all these merry dances should wind up with the dance of death.

The registration of the edict of Amboise, by which the recent pacification was confirmed, encountered a fierce opposition in the parliaments of Paris and the provinces, and it was denounced from the pulpits by the preachers of both parties. Thus peace was advocated by military men, while war was zealously recommended by lawyers and divines; Catherine found that the grave members of parliament were not so accessible to the influence of female charms as the young officers; she was, therefore, compelled to have recourse to money; and by distributing bribes with a lavish hand, she at length succeeded in procuring a legal recognition of the articles of the treaty. But to complete the absurdity of the entire transaction, all the members of parliament appeared in deep mourning on the day that the edict was presented

for registration; the preamble and conclusion were the only parts read "lest the articles should give offence to the people," and the publication of the edict was refused. Under such circumstances, Catherine was enabled to persuade the Huguenots that her ascendancy was essential to their safety, and thus Puritanism was enlisted in the service of profligacy.

CHAPTER IV.

MICHEL DE CASTELNAU,

SIEUR DE MAUVISSIERE.

(Continued.)

CASTELNAU was sent as ambassador to procure Elizabeth's signature to the treaty of Troyes, and for a number of years his history is intimately connected with that of the courts of England and Scotland. He was received by the Queen as an old friend; not a word was said about his having arrested both her ambassadors, against whom the Queen feigned excessive anger, because they had not insisted on the restoration of Calais. After exhibiting a feigned reluctance, which did not impose on Castelnau, she signed the treaty, declaring that she preferred the friendship of Catherine and Charles to any earthly blessing. When these exaggerated sentiments were reported at the court of France, Catherine began to hope that the hand of the English Queen might be obtained for one of her sons, and Castelnau was entrusted with the charge of sounding Elizabeth on so delicate a subject. Having already given some account of

these matrimonial negotiations, we shall only notice the few additional particulars communicated by Castelnau. The first husband offered was the King, Charles IX. Elizabeth replied, that "he was too great and too small;" that is, too great in power and too young in years. The latter objection was mere artifice, for Elizabeth subsequently listened to proposals from both his younger brothers, and was on the very point of being married to the youngest of all.

Castelnau declares that the English nobles at court were the first to propose Henry, Duke of Anjou, as a more fit suitor than King Charles; he communicated their desires to Catherine, but, at the same time, proceeded to Edinburgh, for the purpose of offering Henry to Mary, Queen of Scots. He was a welcome visitor at the Scotch court, not on account of the proposal with which he was entrusted, but because he brought Mary the arrears of her dower, which had been hitherto withheld by the paltry jealousy of Catherine. It was natural that Mary, wearied by the coarse barbarism and stern enthusiasm of the Scottish nobles, should gladly receive an ambassador who had formed part of her brilliant court in the days of her glory, and who had been introduced into public life by her relatives, the Princes of Lorraine. She took him into her confidence, and consulted him respecting the various proposals of marriage she had received.

Her suitors, at this time, were the Archduke Charles, brother of the Emperor of Germany; the Duke of Ferrara; Don Carlos, son of Philip II. of Spain; and the Prince of Condé, who had been proposed to her by some of her own subjects, to whom he was recommended by his zeal for the Protestant religion. Condé had just buried his wife, and quarrelled with his mistress; but his conduct to both was little likely to recommend him as a suitor, even if Mary would have consented to listen to any proposals from so bitter an enemy of her uncles, the Guises. Castelnau mentioned the Duke of Anjou; Mary, with equal candour and good sense, replied, "In truth, there is no country in the world so dear to my heart as France, where I was educated, and where I wore the crown; but I should hesitate to return to it with inferior rank. Besides, I might be in danger of losing my kingdom of Scotland, which was much injured by my former absence. In rank, the Prince of Spain is the most eligible of my suitors; if he perseveres in his design, and comes to Flanders, I know not how I may be tempted to act, but I will do nothing without consulting my brother, the King of France, and my mother-in-law (Catherine)."

It was soon after this conversation that Mary first betrayed her partiality for Darnley. Castelnau directly asserts that this young nobleman was thrown in her way by the agency of Elizabeth,

and that the marriage was recommended by Catherine de Medicis. Mary consulted Castelnau during this critical period, and was, or pretended to be, very anxious that her choice should be approved by the French court; it is surprising that neither she nor Castelnau seem to have thought of consulting the Princes of Lorraine, for whose advice and direction both had hitherto professed the most profound regard.

Immediately after the wedding had been arranged, Castelnau returned to England, and met Elizabeth on one of her progresses; "she did not," says the astute ambassador, "exhibit the joy and pleasure with which the progress of the marriage filled her heart; on the contrary, she pretended to disapprove it,—a circumstance which hastened rather than retarded the union."

After a brief visit to France, Castelnau returned to England, to propose Henry of Anjou as a husband to Elizabeth, with the further charge that if the French Prince should be unacceptable, he should use his influence to support the pretensions of the Earl of Leicester. He was also charged to visit Edinburgh, and endeavour to effect a reconciliation between the Queens of England and Scotland, for while they addressed the most friendly letters to each other, Elizabeth secretly intrigued with the discontented nobles of Scotland, and Mary had sent to ask for succours from France. Castelnau, as we have already said, was led to believe that Elizabeth

had never seriously entertained the design of marrying Leicester, and that she only indulged a natural spirit of coquetry in raising up and dashing down his hopes. He did not press strongly the suit of the Duke of Anjou, probably because the Prince was not very anxious for the match.

His mission to Edinburgh was rather more perplexing; he found Mary bent on declaring war against England; indeed he declares that, but for her matrimonial quarrel with Darnley, she would have openly braved the superior power of Elizabeth. The circumstances connected with the murders of Rizzio and Darnley, Mary's second marriage, her flight to England, and her long captivity, are briefly hurried over by Castelnau; the only novelty in his account is an assertion that Elizabeth would have consented to the liberation of Mary, if the captive lady would consent to resign her pretensions to the English succession.

Castelnau was summoned from England to take a part in the conference at Bayonne. His brief narrative fully confirms the view taken of this conference in a preceding page (p. 14) the means of extirpating heresy were discussed between Catherine and the Duke of Alva, but no definite plan was fixed, and, least of all, did they make any arrangements for the atrocious massacre of St. Bartholomew. The course of policy which Alva recommended, was that which he subsequently pursued in Flanders, to bring the leaders

of the Protestants to the scaffold, or, as he expressed himself, "to try and catch salmon instead of wasting time and labour on frogs;" but Catherine had not courage to pursue his plans. She preferred a course of tortuous intrigues to open violence though at the same time she made her mysteries so very notorious that she excited the suspicions not only of the Protestants, but of the moderate Catholics.

If Coligni, or any of the Protestant leaders, had instigated Poltrot to the murder of the Duke of Guise, they must now have discovered that this crime was a perilous blunder; it enabled Catherine to dispense with their services, and to indulge her hatred of their religion without danger. A less known result is, that Guise's widow all but succeeded in winning over the chief of the Protestant leaders. The Cardinal of Lorraine visited the Prince of Condé, and offered him the hand of Anne d'Este, widow of the Duke of Guise; the proposal was, at first, received with pleasure, but some reports unfavourable to the lady's character were brought to Condé's ears, and he drew back. The Cardinal then proffered his nieces, giving the Prince his choice between Mademoiselle de Guise, and Mary Queen of Scots. A few years before, the Cardinal could have procured Mary's hand for the Prince, but she was now a prisoner in England, and the offer was regarded as a mere evasion.

In the mean time the progress of the Duke of Alva in Flanders, the increase of confraternities for the advancement of religion in France, and the favour shown to the Cardinal of Lorraine by the court, filled the Protestants with alarm, and they began to concert with each other the means of defence. Castelnau avers that he discovered their conspiracy for seizing the King at Monceaux, but the account he gives shows that the leaders of the Huguenots must have acted with unparalleled want of caution, and that Catherine must have displayed far less watchfulness and prudence, than generally belonged to her character. He had been sent as ambassador to congratulate the Duke of Alva on his arrival in Flanders; the Duke dismissed him with protestations of his attachment to the King of France, and promises that he would attempt nothing against his interests. "Scarcely had I left Brussels," says Castelnau, "when I met some Frenchmen of my acquaintance, three of whom had served under me, returning to France. They invited me to join their company; I consented; they entered into discourse with me respecting the distrust and suspicion of the court entertained by the Prince of Condé, the Admiral and the other Huguenot leaders. They said that they had resolved to take up arms as a remedy, to be first in the field, and to secure the persons of the Queen-mother, the King, his brothers and those

of the council who wished to destroy the Reformed religion and its supporters. These persons were part of a deputation who had gone to the Netherlands to encourage the Flemings to resist the entrance of the Duke of Alva and to protect themselves from persecution, as the Huguenots of France were about to do. They spoke so freely, and so particularly, that they communicated the details of the entire conspiracy for seizing the King and his Council at Monceaux, punishing some of his advisers, and hindering those who were the enemies of the Huguenots from doing any further mischief."

The publicity of such a conspiracy, which would be made the subject of conversation to an ambassador of France returning to his own court, at a time, too, when he had shown himself a decided enemy to the Huguenot cause, by his negotiations with the Duke of Alva, is very surprising. We should almost be disposed to doubt Castelnau's accuracy; only that we have many other authorities in proof of the impudent boasts of the Protestants. Matthieu declares that wagers were openly offered in Germany that " before the ensuing feast of St. Michael, the King of France would be in the hands of the Princes and the Cardinal of Lorraine at the mercy of the Admiral." Not less astonishing is the ignorance of any danger manifested by the French court. When Castelnau declared the facts that he had

discovered, the Queen-mother replied that such an event was impossible; the Constable Montmorenci averred that such a report was an idle fable, and the Chancellor L'Hôpital proposed that the informer should be punished for libelling the loyalty of Frenchmen.

The incredulity of the Queen-mother was founded on the report of a spy whom she had sent to Chatillon, to discover what the Admiral was doing. He had found the Admiral superintending his farm, and particularly busy in training and pruning his vines; Catherine naturally enough concluded that a person meditating a revolution likely to convulse the entire kingdom, would not bestow his thoughts upon vine-dressing; but this was a characteristic trait of the Admiral, who prided himself on continuing the management of his estates even in the midst of war.

Some messengers arrived from Lyons, who brought alarming accounts of levies made by the Huguenots, and of armed bands marching to a place of rendezvous; Castelnau's brother was sent to investigate these reports; he brought back certain information of a Huguenot army being assembled; but such still was the incredulity of the royal council, that the two brothers were menaced with arrest, and were forbidden to leave the court. At length intelligence arrived which left no doubt of the advance of the Huguenots: the whole court was filled with alarm, there was scarcely a

soldier present for its defence; even the Swiss guards were at a distance of fifteen or sixteen miles. The Huguenots allowed themselves to be amused with negotiations until the Swiss arrived; under their protection, and that of the gentlemen of the court, who formed a body of volunteer cavalry, the King effected his retreat in safety to Paris.

Many of the King's warmest partisans were opposed to this retreat; they wished the court to remain and hear the demands of the Protestants, the greater part of which they knew to be just; they were also reluctant to go to Paris, because the bigoted populace of that city, being firmly attached to the House of Guise, was certain to give preponderating power to the Cardinal of Lorraine. Catherine felt the force of these objections; dread of the Guises had been long the moving principle of her policy, but the Cardinal now flattered her by pretending to be guided by her advice, and the Huguenots had alarmed her by their complaints respecting the influence of Italians and other foreigners. The grievances of which the Prince of Condé and the Admiral complained in their addresses and manifestoes, were not confined to the persecutions which continued in spite of the edicts of pacification; they complained of the lavish expenditure of the public money, the increasing debts of the court, the severe pressure of taxation, and the large pensions

granted to foreigners; to remedy these disorders, they proposed the convocation of the States-General. The Constable Montmorenci and the Chancellor L'Hôpital concurred with the Protestants in urging the necessity of searching financial reforms; but Catherine, whose extravagant habits and taste for costly pleasures were not less remarkable than her love of intrigue, opposed these prudent counsels, preferring the horrors of civil war, and the ascendancy of her old rivals, the Guises, to a curtailment of luxury and licentiousness.

The Huguenots were a small minority in France, but such was their activity, and such the general unpopularity of the court, that they kept Paris closely blockaded. Castelnau was sent to seek aid from the Duke of Alva, who had a large Spanish army in the Netherlands; the Duke offered to march his entire forces into France, and annihilate Protestantism at one blow, but Catherine was too suspicious of Alva to receive him at the head of an army; she wrote to Castelnau not to accept more than the limited succours first asked. Alva protracted the negotiations, in the hope that the Royalists might be reduced to such distress as to agree to his terms; but learning that forces were being raised in every part of France to rescue the King, he sent the auxiliaries, lest Paris should be delivered without his aid.

In the meantime negotiations had been com-

menced by the court, and Catherine re-commenced her secret intrigues with the Protestant leaders. She might have succeeded with the Prince of Condé, had he not been strengthened against her machinations by the prudence and firmness of the Admiral; this aggravated her hatred of Coligni, to whose destruction she, thenceforth, devoted all her energies. Her reproaches stimulated the Constable Montmorenci to attack Coligni at St. Denis, at the moment when a large detachment of the Huguenots had marched to intercept Castelnau; for she insisted that his reluctance to engage arose from his preferring the interests of his nephews, the Colignis, to the cause of the King.

The battle of St. Denis was an error on both sides; the forces of the Royalists were daily increasing, and, in a very short time, the Huguenots must have been forced to retreat; on the other hand, the Huguenots had only fifteen hundred horse, and twelve hundred foot, badly armed, and destitute of artillery, to oppose three thousand horse and six thousand infantry, well provided with cannon and all necessary military equipments. The desperate charge of the Huguenot cavalry broke the Royal horse, the Constable Montmorenci fell in the *mêlée*, and, but for the steadiness of a body of pikemen, the Royal army would have been driven to the gates of Paris. The engagement ended in a drawn battle; both sides claimed the victory; the Royalists because

they retained the field, the Huguenots because they had preserved St. Denis, dispersed the cavalry, and slain the general on the opposite side. In the controversy which arose as to the party which could more justly claim the advantage, Marshal de Vieilleville coolly observed, that the real gainer was the King of Spain; for the civil wars of France would enable him to pursue his schemes of conquest without interruption.

Catherine was more pleased by the death of Montmorenci than she would have been by the most decisive victory; she had not only got rid of a powerful minister who opposed her plans, and detected her intrigues; but she obtained an opportunity of raising her favourite son, Henry, to the command of the Royal forces as Lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the office of Constable having been abolished.

Both parties began to strengthen themselves by foreign alliances; Prince Casimir, the second son of the Elector Palatine, led an army of auxiliaries to support the Huguenots; while a large body of Saxons came to the aid of the Royalists. The ravages committed by the Germans on both sides alarmed the Protestant and Catholic leaders; they saw that the country was on the brink of ruin, and that nothing could save it but the restoration of peace. Besides, the connection between the leaders of the auxiliaries led to a suspicion that they might unite their forces, and demand terms

for themselves; Prince John of Saxony and Prince Casimir were brothers-in-law; and, though the former was a Lutheran and the latter a Calvinist, it was believed that both might be induced to join in levying contributions, or seizing some of the French cities.

Castelnau had a principal share in conducting the negotiations on the part of Charles and Catherine. Two circumstances perplexed the court; a promise had been made to the Duke of Alva that the war should be continued until the Huguenots were exterminated; and it had been stipulated that the King should pay the arrears due to Prince Casimir and his followers, who had come to aid the revolt. It was equally difficult to gratify the appetite of one for blood, and the other for money; the Huguenots would not consent to have their throats cut, and the King's pecuniary resources were exhausted. Castelnau undertook to apologise for the emptiness both of the gibbets and the treasury: Alva consoled himself by increasing his severity to the Flemings; but, gold being scarce, and more precious than victims, Casimir would listen to no terms but immediate payment, threatening an immediate march on Paris if his demands were not satisfied. Catherine was at her purse's end and her wit's end; she sent Castelnau the most inconsistent orders; he was directed to offer promises, but these were disbelieved; to use menaces, but they were despised;

and to employ open force, which would have led to a renewal of the Civil War. In the midst of these difficulties, a letter was received from the Duke of Saxony, offering to march with his whole army against Casimir; but, Castelnau shrewdly suspected that there was a secret compact between the two Princes, and that both were anxious to obtain another year's pay from the court of France. After much delay, Casimir was induced, by a bribe, to abate his demands for his followers, security was given for the payment, and the Germans evacuated France. Castelnau was rewarded for his services by the government of St. Disier; which, however, was wrested from him by the Duke of Guise, without even an offer of compensation.

The pacification of Longjumeau afforded a very brief breathing-time to the hostile parties. Catherine, dreading the growing influence of L'Hôpital over her son's mind, united herself with the Guises to remove that virtuous minister; but she thus gave strength to the Papal party, and its leaders committed the most lawless outrages on the Huguenots, who were menaced with punishment when they sought redress. The Civil War was renewed in a few months with greater fury than ever; Catherine was delighted because her favourite son, Henry, Duke of Anjou, commanded the Royal army, being assisted by Marshal Tavannes in military affairs, and by Castelnau in

diplomacy. Both these councillors lay claim to the battle of Jarnac, in which the Huguenots were defeated and the Prince of Condé slain. Neither of them have cared to record that the gallant Condé was basely murdered, after he had yielded himself a prisoner, with the approbation, if not at the command of the Duke of Anjou. We may have occasion to revert again to the circumstances of this war, and must now follow Castelnau in his career of diplomacy. He was sent to carry the news of the victory to the court, and to obtain additional succours.

Catherine exerted her utmost powers to improve the victory of Jarnac; she sent Castelnau into Germany to hasten the arrival of the auxiliaries which she had hired in that country; and he was further charged with a mission to the Duke of Alva, urging him to intercept the army of the Duke des Deux-Ponts, who was marching to the assistance of the Protestants.

Alva received the ambassador with the most extravagant joy; he promised to place all his available forces at the disposal of France; he exhorted the French court to be satisfied with nothing short of the extermination; he boasted of his own firmness in procuring the judicial murder of the Counts Egmont and Horn, who had both performed many eminent services in former wars; and he gave a flourishing description of the victories he had gained, and intended

to gain, over "the beggars" of Flanders. Castelnau listened very impatiently to these effusions of Spanish rodomontade; he hastened the departure of the auxiliaries, and joined the French army in time to intercept the Duke des Deux-Ponts; but this advantage was lost by the dissensions of the French leaders; the Duke entered France with little difficulty; took La Charitè by storm, and crossed the Loire. He died, however, before he could effect a junction with the Huguenot forces under the command of the Admiral Coligni and the Princes of Béarn and Condé. History tells that the Admiral's unfortunate siege of Poictiers, and his still more calamitous defeat at Moncontour, reduced the Protestant cause almost to desperation; yet, at this crisis, they obtained a new peace on better conditions than ever. Castelnau explains the cause in a very few words; there was no money to pay the Royal army, the soldiers either deserted or supported themselves by plunder, and the proffers of assistance made by the King of Spain and the Duke of Alva, were regarded as insidious means of promoting their own interests at the expense of France. These were the causes that induced Catherine to commence negotiations by sending Castelnau as an ambassador to Jane d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, who had come to Rochelle at the first moment of danger, and by her wisdom and fortitude inspired her party with fresh courage after every reverse.

Castelnau, on the part of Catherine, expressed a strong desire for peace, and an anxiety to promote the interests of the young King of Navarre. Jane replied that, however well-disposed the Queen-mother might be, she was surrounded by persons who would never keep faith with the Huguenots; she particularly referred to the intrigues between the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Anjou, which she had discovered by intercepted letters; and she charged the Cardinal with having organised the revolt of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who, about this time, made an insane attempt to restore the Papal supremacy in England. Castelnau exerted himself to remove these causes of suspicion; a treaty was at length concluded, and peace continued until it was fatally interrupted by the cruel massacre of St. Bartholomew's.

Peace in France was a very different thing from tranquillity; the ink of the signatures to the treaty had scarcely time to dry when the articles were ostentatiously violated. It is probable that the Huguenots would have been destroyed in detail, but for the valour and prudence of the citizens of Rochelle, who refused to receive a Royal garrison within their walls, or to admit a new governor, except he came unattended. Charles, or rather Catherine, endeavoured to win over the municipality by soothing professions; but she found that a mercantile aristocracy was

proof against the arts which had seduced the proud chivalry of France: menaces were then employed; but the citizens soon showed that they were more ready and more eager for war than any of the Royal armies; they at once closed their gates, commenced levying forces in Poictou, established a republican form of government, though they nominally preserved their allegiance; and invited several Huguenot chiefs, who had either been excepted from the act of amnesty, or who had neglected to comply with its provisions, to seek shelter in their garrison. Amongst the refugees was the Count de Rochefoucault, whose illustrious birth, and military reputation, seemed to entitle him to the chief command; but the citizens of Rochelle had lost all confidence in the Huguenot nobility; they had seen too many of them sacrifice their cause to gain a title, a pension, or a mistress, and they resolved to continue under the authority of their own municipal officers. By such firmness Rochelle, was preserved, to use the words of a Huguenot preacher, "as an ark in which the pious could find safety when a new deluge of iniquity was poured upon the earth."

Here Castelnau concludes his Memoirs with the following reflection:—"The spiritual sword is the good example of the clergy, charity, exhortation, and other good works; such means are more necessary for the extermination of he-

resy, and the recovery of those who have gone astray, than persecution and bloodshed; more especially when the evil has attained such a height that every attempt to cure it by violent means only aggravates the disease."

We shall return to Castelnau, and examine his career as French ambassador in England; but before we do so, we must call upon another diplomatist to give an account of the relations of the French and English courts, in the interval between the accession of Elizabeth and the massacre of St. Bartholomew's.

CHAPTER V.

LA MOTHE FENELON.

Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon was born in 1523; his family was illustrious for deeds of war, for literary taste, and for devoted loyalty. In 1552, he took a part in the memorable defence of Metz, of which he has written a very spirited and interesting account. After several other services, he was sent as ambassador to England in 1558, and there he continued for seven years a careful observer of the tortuous policy of Elizabeth. His letters to the Queen-mother and her son Charles elucidate some of the most interesting points in history, but especially the nature of the relations between Elizabeth and the revolted Huguenots; the mutual policy of Catherine and Elizabeth, each anxious to overreach the other; the protection accorded by the French court to Mary, Queen of Scots; and the negotiations for marriage between the English Queen and the brothers of the King of France. We have given some account of these

negotiations already, but we shall glean additional particulars from the despatches of Fenelon and Castelnau, equally amusing and instructive.

Fenelon's despatches abundantly prove that Catherine held the entire royal authority during the reign of Charles IX; every letter sent to the King is accompanied by another to the Queen-mother, and the cream of the information conveyed is always found in the latter. We have abundant confirmation of what we have more than once stated, that Elizabeth looked very coldly on the cause of the Huguenot insurgents in France; in fact, she granted them reluctant aid only because she feared that, if they were overthrown, France and Spain would unite with the Papacy in a Catholic league, of which she would be the victim. Fenelon's negotiations respecting the unfortunate Queen of Scots, are so intimately blended with the marriage proposed between the captive Queen and the Duke of Norfolk, that we shall include their examination in our sketch of that nobleman's history. At present, we shall regard him in his double capacity of spectator and actor in the first great matrimonial farce, the courtship of Elizabeth and Henry, the first Duke of Anjou. It will be convenient to follow the order of time in abstracting Fenelon's account of this singular display of royal intrigue, and to give 'extracts' from the despatches, with very brief comments. We shall

also mark the dates, which are of some importance.

On the 27th of July, 1569, the ambassador sent to his court a very minute report on the private policy of the English court. He had entered into conversation with Elizabeth respecting the approaching marriage of Charles IX, her former suitor, with a daughter of the Emperor, and also concerning the reports circulated of a marriage proposed between the Princess-Royal of France and the King of Spain. On the latter subject, the Queen evinced much anxiety, and Fenelon found it necessary to be very guarded in his replies.

"I told her that I knew nothing of the matter, and had received no account of it from France; but, I added, that before my departure the marriage of the Princess-Royal to the King had been talked of, and that if he had set his heart upon the match, it would be difficult to make a change; still, I thought, as affairs now stood, matters very different from marriage would be discussed between the two courts. I said this, as I was conscious of the great jealousy with which she regards any symptoms of closer alliance between his Most Christian and his Catholic Majesty.

"She replied that, as she was informed, matters had so far advanced that the nuptials might be looked upon as settled. She added, that the

King (of France) and Monsieur were of such a size and strength, possessing such good health and noble dispositions, that there was no longer any danger in marrying them; that in the use of arms and the management of his horse, the King resembled his late father, who had been the most perfect knight of his age; that Monsieur had changed his courtly life for brave and difficult enterprises, which had procured him universal approbation."

Regarding the praises of the royal brothers as a broad hint, Fenelon declared that they were worthy of the eulogies bestowed upon them. Elizabeth then inquired respecting the Princess of Portugal, who had been propcsed as a match for both brothers in succession, adding, that "there was no objection to *her* on the score of age." This was too broad to be misunderstood; Fenelon protested against the wrong which Elizabeth was doing to the noble qualities with which she was herself endowed, "beauty, wisdom, virtue, and high estate," by not leaving an heir to her noble qualities and possessions.

"I said that no one could blame her for deliberating on the subject, since God had given her the power of choice, for there was no prince who would not esteem it a happiness to be the object of her selection, and that I believed it necessary the proposal should come from herself, since no one would be so presumptuous as to make an

offer. I added, that for a princess disposed to marry, there could be no better or more desirable match in all Christendom than one of the French princes, sons of the late King Henry; of whom the eldest was a worthy king, the true successor of his father, the second, in every respect so royal, that nothing was wanting to him but a crown, and the third affording promise that his noble qualities would rival those of his brothers."

Elizabeth dwelt on the difference of age; Fenelon replied, that "she had resisted the power of time, which had taken nothing from her beauty; that the King and Prince had profited by their years to acquire beauty, size, and strength, so that they were now perfect men." Elizabeth with some malice expressed her fears that Catherine would wish for a younger daughter-in-law, whom she could manage at pleasure. Fenelon, in reply, averred that Catherine was the best of mothers-in-law, referring to the favour she had always shown to Mary, Queen of Scots, and the exertions she was now making in her behalf. This was a clever turn, for, from subsequent letters, it appears that Fenelon suspected Elizabeth of having thrown out these hints in order to divert the French Court from the remonstrances which were made against the unjustifiable detention of Mary, Queen of Scots.

A second report, annexed to that from which

we have quoted, enters at some length into the history of Elizabeth's previous courtships, from which Fenelon concludes that Elizabeth was resolved never to marry; he urges the great advantage that would result from the marriage of Mary with the Duke of Norfolk, particularly as Leicester was endeavouring to secure the succession for his brother-in-law, the Earl of Huntingdon, and Cecil had formed similar ambitions for the children of the Earl of Hertford (in right of their mother, who was a sister of Lady Jane Grey).

The ambassador, acting on these impressions, made every exertion to accelerate Mary's marriage with the Duke of Norfolk; but Elizabeth obtained notice of the intrigue, and, as we shall subsequently see, threw the Duke into prison. Fenelon assured her that he had not in any way interfered to favour the obnoxious union, and flattered himself that he had hoodwinked Elizabeth. She treated the Frenchman with equal duplicity, and caused her ambassador to hint to Catherine that a proposal from Henry would be received with favour. It is amusing to find that Catherine, on her part, looked with suspicion on these intimations, and met Elizabeth in the game of cunning, amply prepared for the contest. In a letter to Fenelon, dated 4th of May, 1570, the Queen-mother thus writes:—

"I wish further to inform you that at the last

audience granted to the English ambassador, when we were on the subject of the propositions made by his mistress, I said that the King my son, and myself were desirous, from the friendship we bore her, that she should set the Queen of Scotland at liberty, and aid to restore her to her kingdom and the authority that is justly her due; and, also, that she should determine on her own marriage, choosing a person who should be at her devotion, and whom she could manage as she pleased; and that by this means she would enjoy more tranquillity in her dominions, and remove the cause of the troubles which have been and still are; and that those who pretend to the succession should have no longer a pretext for the intrigues and tumults in which they usually engage."

"To this the said ambassador replied, that if I spoke of my son, the Duke of Anjou, that he would willingly write on the subject, and that he thought his mistress would be very glad to hear him mentioned.

"I remonstrated that the age of my son was so unequal to hers that this plan must fail, and that she ought to choose whom she pleased in her own kingdom; which declaration of mine I request you to make known to the Earl of Leicester. . . . ."

The difference of age was a convenient excuse to both Queens; Elizabeth had employed it from

the very beginning, and Catherine now paid it back. Leicester had for some time been regarded as a favourer of the French interest, and Catherine craftily lured him with the belief that she and her son were anxious for his union with Elizabeth, though she must have known, from Fenelon's reports, that the scheme had become utterly hopeless. Thus far, the suggestion of the Duke of Anjou as a suitor appears to have been a mere artifice, or, at best, an experiment. It soon, however, assumed the form of a serious proposal.

The Cardinal of Chastillon had come to England in order to obtain succour for the French Protestants, when in arms at Rochelle. He continued his exertions until the conclusion of the third treaty between the Huguenots and their sovereign at St. Germain de Laye; but distrusting promises, which had often been broken, he hoped that a union between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou would render the Protestants more than a counterpoise for the Guises, and, as it would be accompanied by the marriage of Henry of Navarre with the Princess Margaret, he probably expected that the Reformation would be established in France, after two such marriages, with very little difficulty. Having sounded the disposition of the English court, and received, as he asserted, the utmost encouragement, he laid the matter before Catherine. The Queen-

mother still suspected some artifice. On the 20th of October, 1570, she wrote to Fenelon:— "The Cardinal of Chastillon has proposed that my son should make overtures of marriage to the Queen of England; and the person who communicated with me on the subject, held out hopes that the matter would be easily effected if we pleased. But, as we thought that these overtures might be rather a mere artifice to gain the advantage of time over us, in a negotiation which could be greatly protracted, than the result of any inclination for marriage, I replied, that I did not believe the Queen of England had any wish to take a husband, but that if there was any lady, or marriageable girl so nearly related to her that she could make and declare her heiress to the crown, such a match would be far more suitable." This strange notion seems, for the moment, to have taken complete possession of Catherine's mind. She had been led to believe that Cecil's influence would be sufficient to secure the succession to the English crown for whatever claimant he pleased, and, in this belief, she adds, "You must, secretly and skilfully, as you know well how to do, speak as if from yourself to Secretary Cecil, who, as I am informed, is closely allied to a family, which has always been a rival claimant for the crown of England with my daughter, the Queen of Scotland, in order that he might determine what

lady or daughter of that house it would be best to put forward as the heiress of Elizabeth. Then, with your customary prudence and wisdom, make him fully comprehend the great benefits that would accrue to himself and his house from managing this scheme, and bringing it to perfection. By such means, he would honour and secure the whole of the said family, and would not only continue his present greatness, but wield with more authority than ever the administration and kingdom of England. And, besides, he would be employed for a Prince, who would be grateful for his good offices, and would, in return, labour to ensure the felicity of him and his.

"There is, I believe, a lady of this family who has been long imprisoned, with her husband and her two children. I have heard that the husband died in prison; it is necessary to inquire whether she is the next heir.". . . Catherine then goes on to propose that, in consideration of the favour shown to the lady, she should disinherit her present children, and procure an act of parliament, limiting the succession to the fruit of her marriage with the Duke of Anjou. On second thoughts, this notable scheme did not seem quite so promising to Catherine as at first; and by a second letter of the same date, she ordered the ambassador to keep the matter secret until further orders.

Fenelon was sorely perplexed by this unex-

pected communication; the readiness with which Catherine abandoned the Queen of Scots, and even showed a wish to deprive her of her rightful inheritance, was a disagreeable surprise to him, for he had, hitherto, believed that Catherine was earnest in her support of Mary. The proposals she made were founded on a tissue of blunders. Catherine Grey, to whom the Queen-mother alluded, had died in the Tower; her children, by the Earl of Hertford, were two boys; and Mary Grey, the last surviving sister of Lady Jane, had abandoned all pretensions to the succession, having married a person of low rank. Elizabeth had no wish to name any heir; and, were she inclined to do so, to the prejudice of the Scottish line, it was very doubtful whether she would be supported by her parliament. Fenelon repeats his belief that Elizabeth was indisposed to marriage, mentions a report that the Prince of Navarre had been proposed to her as a suitor; and, finally, hints his opinion of the neglect with which the Queen of Scots was treated, in the following indirect reproach: "I have further to inform you, that information from France has reached the Queen of England, to the effect, that you by no means desire the affairs of the Queen of Scots to be expedited; and that you would be pleased, if she were still detained in England; it appears that the Bishop of Ross (Mary's chief agent), has had similar advices; but I have taken care to let him know

that nothing could be more false." Fenelon, however, believed it to be true; for, with his letter, he sent a report of the state of the negotiations for setting Mary at liberty, declaring that they were on the very verge of a favourable conclusion.

It is probable that some letters have been lost; for we find that Fenelon was alarmed by the fear of losing Catherine's friendship, and that she wrote to him to assure him that he had her entire confidence. On the 29th of December, 1570, Fenelon wrote for the first time, with a full belief that the marriage of Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou, was seriously contemplated by the English Queen and her ministers. Signor Guido Cavalcanti was the person employed to broach the subject to the French ambassador; he said, that Elizabeth was greatly enraged at the marriage of her late suitor with a Bavarian princess, "and was anxious to show the world that she could make as good a match as his;" and he dwelt on the necessity of settling the affairs of Flanders and Scotland, the troubles in France and England, and the disputed claims to Calais, all of which could be best accommodated by a union with the Duke of Anjou. Relying more on Elizabeth's indignation against the Archduke, than on any reasons of state, Fenelon proceeds to describe his having communicated with Cecil and Leicester on the subject, both of whom expressed great anxiety for its consummation, and advised him to have an interview with

the Queen. Accordingly, he was introduced to a private audience, where he found the Queen "more splendidly attired than usual, evidently expecting that when I spoke of his majesty's nuptials, some mention would be made of her own." She led the way to this delicate topic, and displayed more than her usual coquetry; every objection she started being answered by an outpouring of flattery from the ambassador. Fenelon, in conclusion, requests Catherine to send him full instructions, in order that there should be no delay in concluding a marriage so advantageous to France.

The first answer of Catherine does not appear; but Fenelon's despatch, January 18th, 1571, shows that the project had been favourably received. The ambassador avers that Leicester was very anxious to forward the match, and reports that when the Queen said, "the Duke of Anjou is much younger than me;" the Earl replied, "so much the better for your Majesty." Fenelon had another interview with the Queen herself,— "I said that the King (Charles IX.) lived in such great love and privacy with his Queen, that I would recommend a princess who wished for perfect happiness in marriage to take a husband from the House of France. She replied, that the examples of Madame d'Etampes and Madame de Valentinois gave her some alarm; and that she did not wish for a husband who would honour

her as a queen, without loving her as a wife. To this I answered, that the person to whom we alluded, amongst the other eminent qualities, in which he was surpassed by no king on earth, had this peculiar virtue, that he knew how to love and render himself beloved. In truth, said she, he has so many perfections, that he is never mentioned without the loudest praise." The matter had now began to be publicly known, for, Fenelon adds, that the English Catholics and the friends of Mary, Queen of Scots, complained that the French court had abandoned their interests to pursue a visionary scheme, for they were assured that Elizabeth would never marry.

On the 30th of the same month, Fenelon again wrote, detailing a conversation which he had with Elizabeth at the entertainment given in honour of the opening of the Royal Exchange. She called him apart, and declared, "that she had made up her mind to marry; not for her own gratification, but the satisfaction of her subjects, and also to obviate, by the authority of a husband, or the birth of a child, if God should please to grant her issue, the attempts that would be made on her sovereignty if she became so old as no longer to have the chance of a suitor or of heirs." She then expressed her fears that a young husband might not love her, declaring that any failure of his affections would break her heart. A new dose of flattery

was administered, and she appeared quite satisfied.

On the 6th of February, the ambassador declares that Elizabeth was strongly disposed to the match, but that it was opposed by some of her councillors, who had recommended her to return to her old flame, and choose the Earl of Leicester. Fenelon appears to have been alarmed by this intelligence, but his hopes were revived by the Earl himself, who declared that the French alliance was chiefly opposed by the partisans of Spain, "and likewise by Mr. Secretary Cecil, who was very unwilling that the Queen should have the Duke of Anjou, or any other husband than himself; for he is really more the sovereign than she is. They had earnestly solicited her to accept the Earl of Leicester as the person who would give most satisfaction to the entire kingdom; and they reminded her that she had asked them to recommend him. To this she replied, that when the time suited for Leicester's offer, they had opposed it; and now, when it was unseasonable, they supported it; that such a course showed them to be neither faithful servants to her nor true friends to him, but merely anxious to break off the match with Monsieur, wherefore she felt not at all obliged to them, and owed them no thanks."

The proposed marriage was far from being agreeable to the Duke of Anjou; Marshal Ta-

vannes informs us that he vented many ribald jests on Elizabeth whenever her name was mentioned; and we find from Fenelon, that these insults were faithfully reported in the English court. Catherine's letters prove that she found it no easy task to persuade her son to comply with her wishes. On the 18th of February she writes to Fenelon, "I wrote to you with my own hand, by M. de Sabran, and informed you, that finding my son (the Duke of Anjou) unwilling to marry, you should inquire whether the Queen would accept the Duke of Alençon, or offer him one of her relations. Since then, I have succeeded in winning over the Duke of Anjou to consent to the marriage, if she pleases, which he now greatly desires. Seeing which, I have induced my Lord Boucard (Buckhurst) to delay, though he had already taken leave, in order that he might have a conversation with the king, myself, and my son; and that being now assured of my said son's inclinations, we should speak to him in such a way that the Queen, his mistress, on his return, should know that it no longer rests with us if she has an inclination to marry, and that her union with my son may be effected with honour and advantage."

On the 2nd of March, Catherine detailed to the ambassador the following particulars of her interview with Lord Buckhurst:—"I told him that if we were assured that the English Queen was really disposed to marriage, and was not trifling

with us, as she had with others, the king, myself, and my son, desired it, and would have due regard to her honour; at the same time we trusted that she would respect ours, and not turn us into jest and derision.

"He then began to tell me that she had commanded him to inform us, if we broached the subject, that she had resolved to marry some prince of the same rank, out of her kingdom; but as it was not consistent with a lady's honour to court men, she could not say more; but when sought in the form her honour required, she would seriously reply, and use no artifice. Afterwards, he added, speaking from himself, that she was constrained to marry, that she wished it herself, and that the nobles of her kingdom advised it; that my son was neither like the King of Sweden nor the brother of the King of Denmark, nor the Archduke Charles, all poor princes, and at a distance from England. But my son was near, and supported by a powerful king; and that this marriage, if effected, would be highly advantageous to both parties."

On the 6th of March, Fenelon wrote to Catherine, urging her to perseverance, and declaring that the proposal of the Duke of Alençon, who had not yet attained manhood, instead of the Duke of Anjou, would, probably, be regarded as an insult. He states, however, that it might be possible to protract the negotiations until Alençon

was of full age. He again corrects the Queen's error respecting the succession to the English crown, declaring that Queen Elizabeth had no female relatives on her father's side, and that she had neither the power nor the inclination to bring forward any of her mother's family.

On the 12th of March he informs Catherine that the Earl of Leicester had urged him, in the most pressing terms, to hasten the marriage. He declares that a party had been formed to persuade Elizabeth to choose the eldest son of the Emperor of Germany, who was only a few months younger than the Duke of Anjou; and he alludes, with obvious alarm, to a report that the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Papal nuncio had induced the Duke of Anjou to withdraw his suit from Elizabeth, and seek the hand of Mary, Queen of Scots.

On the 14th of April, Fenelon informs his mistress that he had laid Anjou's proposals before Elizabeth in diplomatic form: "she replied to me in so kind and modest a manner, and with words so full of respect and honourable desire, that nothing seemed to me more unlike dissimulation or caprice." Elizabeth referred the ambassador to Cecil and the Earl of Leicester, both of whom seemed eager to promote the match; preliminary articles had been drawn up, and were actually under discussion; the chief difficulty was the unwillingness of the English to permit the Prince the public exercise of his religion. On this point,

however, Elizabeth herself had said, "that she had been crowned and consecrated according to the rites of the Catholic church, and by Catholic prelates, but without joining in the celebration of mass; that she would be sorry to suppose that Monsieur would abandon his religion; for if he had the heart to desert God, he might also desert her. But she referred the matter to Lords Leicester and Burleigh."

On the 2nd of May, the ambassador sent a very long report on the state of the negotiations; he had induced the Duke of Norfolk to favour the match, as being likely to facilitate his own union with the Queen of Scotland. A report had reached him that Elizabeth was insincere, and only sought to divert attention from her own intrigues to secure her ascendancy in Scotland, and continue the imprisonment of Mary. Alarmed by this rumour, he had sought an interview with Elizabeth, who still professed her desire for the marriage, but complained "that a certain person of high rank in France had said that Monsieur would do well to marry the old hag who had last year an ulcer in her leg not yet cured, and which, probably, would never be cured, under pretence of which he might administer her a French potion, which would make him a widower six months after his marriage, and leave him free to marry the Queen of Scots, in whose right he could reign peacefully over the whole island. She

declared that this proposition had not offended her so much on her own account as from the regard she had for Monsieur and his illustrious family."

She would not tell the name of the person who had thus spoken, but she declared that she was convinced of the fact. Fenelon asserts that she was finally appeased by his protestations; but, in a note added to his letter, he complains that the reports of Walsingham (the English ambassador in France) had greatly cooled Elizabeth's ardour for the match.

From the cotemporary memoirs we learn that suspicions of the sincerity of Catherine were not less generally entertained, than of Elizabeth. The Huguenots believed that the former wanted to engage the English court in a long negotiation, during which she might find an opportunity of crushing their party, and the Catholics believed that Elizabeth had adopted the same tortuous policy in order to complete the ruin of the Queen of Scotland. There is no doubt that these suspicions were not without foundation on both sides; Catherine and Elizabeth equally knew that the Duke of Anjou was averse to the match, and that his ribald followers made it the subject of indecent jests. But there can be just as little doubt that, at one period of the negotiations, Catherine was, at least, sincerely anxious for their success, and Elizabeth had gone as near to making up her mind, as any woman who

afterwards retracted. The proposition was made in policy, but it was conducted with ludicrous coquetry, and only afforded grave statesmen a rare opportunity for chattering soft nonsense.

On the 10th of June, Fenelon wrote to Catherine, that the only remaining difficulty was the Prince's claim to the public exercise of his religion, a point on which Elizabeth either felt or affected great indifference, but declared that she would be guided by the opinions of her Council. "She assured me that she had never suffered so great a constraint, not even when she had been committed to the Tower, as when she had prevailed upon herself to consent to a marriage: she added, that she would do all in her power to promote the proposed match, that she would confer with Leicester and Burleigh respecting the proffered husband, and endeavour to procure for Monsieur all possible liberty (in the matter of religion)."

On the 24th of May, Catherine wrote to the ambassador a brief note, in which she expressed some doubts of Elizabeth's sincerity. At the same time, Charles IX, who, during the whole of these negotiations had never, for a moment, relaxed his efforts in favour of Mary, ordered the ambassador to menace Elizabeth with an immediate declaration of war, if she did not restore the Queen of Scotland to her liberty and just rights.

Fenelon replied to the King, that Elizabeth flew into such a passion whenever Mary's name was mentioned, that he did not wish to press the matter immediately. In a separate letter to Catherine, dated June 2nd, he gave the details of a long conversation he had with Elizabeth on the projected marriage, "She enumerated herself the advantages of the match and the security which such a sure and strong alliance would afford to her state and affairs, mentioning the honourable qualities of Monsieur, and the affection, free from avarice or ambition, which he manifested towards her; she said and swore, not without change of colour, for the blood rose in her cheeks, that her only doubt was, whether she, her crown and kingdom, were sufficiently worthy of so excellent a prince." The ambassador declares that Leicester was really anxious for the match, and recommends the Queen to procure for him the hand of the Duchess of Nevers, or some other noble lady allied to the crown of France. He expresses some fear of Cecil, but adds that Walsingham's recent letters had removed the unfavourable impressions which his previous communications had produced on the Queen's mind. Finally, he recommends that a "gratification" should be given to Walsingham and Cavalcanti in order to ensure their continued support.

On the 7th of June, Fenelon details Leicester's

zealous exertions to forward the negotiations, and mentions his desire that the marriage should take place at his castle of Quilingourt (Kenilworth), during the Queen's progress to Coventry.

Several letters in succession dwell on the increasing eagerness of Elizabeth for the speedy conclusion of the marriage. Most of the articles were settled, and on the 3rd of July, Catherine sent over a portrait of her son to be exhibited to the English Queen. This portrait consisted of two pictures, one for the Prince's face and another for his figure, a singular division which Catherine thus explains:

"As the portrait of the Prince was not quite finished when your last courier set off, I could not send it earlier than the present moment by Mr. Vassal; it has not been possible to procure it in a single painting by Mr. Jamet as I could have wished. He had only leisure as you will see to finish the face, which is well done, and a perfect likeness of the original. The other painting, also by him, will only serve to show the Prince's figure; it is a very good likeness, but the painter has not finished it, because that is done in the other painting, and because I was anxious to send the portrait at once."

When matters had proceeded thus far, and everything seemed to promise a speedy conclu-

sion of the marriage, the Duke of Anjou began openly to express his dislike of the match, and his contempt for the person of Elizabeth. Walsingham's spies reported these imprudent jests, and the ambassador, who seems from the beginning to have disliked the proposed union, took good care that these insults should reach the ear of his mistress. Fenelon began to find Elizabeth less determined to persevere; she frequently expressed her fears that Anjou would prove a faithless husband. On the other hand, the Duke demanded new concessions in the exercise of his religion, which he knew full well that the English ministers would refuse. Catherine, who had now become resolved on the English alliance, though she may not have been quite sincere at the commencement, wrote the following letter to Fenelon on the 25th of July: "As I have especial confidence in you, I will not conceal that I am much grieved by the humour in which my son, Anjou, is at present; he is so obstinately resolved not to go into England without having a public assurance for the free exercise of his religion, that neither the King nor I can persuade him to trust to the word of the English Queen. We greatly suspect that Vellequier, Lignerolles or Sarret, or, perhaps, all three are the authors of these whims; if we could be certain of the fact, I assure you they should repent of it.

Notwithstanding, I do not wish that we should recede, for perhaps we may yet gain some power over his mind, or that of the said Queen.

" If by chance matters cannot be arranged for my said son as I wish, I am resolved to make every exertion for the success of my son, Alençon, which I do not think will be so difficult a task. In the meantime, as it has been proposed to make such a league with the said Queen as will bring us closer together, and remove the Emperor's son and other suitors, do not let a hint of this get abroad. Burn the present letter when you read it, and believe nothing said or written to you but what you will see in letters signed by the King's hand or mine. 'I do not give this caution without good reason. For those who are adverse to the affairs, now, thank God, so far advanced and arranged, are sufficiently cunning to publish or write whatever they think likely to overthrow our good work."

The persons anxious to prevent the marriage were the leaders of the ultra-Protestant and ultra-Catholic parties; the former proposed Henry of Navarre to Elizabeth, the latter wished the Duke of Anjou to espouse Mary, Queen of Scots. Catherine and Fenelon had equally persuaded themselves that the only danger to be dreaded was from external intrigues, and that the parties principally interested were anxious to have the affair

concluded. It was believed that Elizabeth wished for a husband, and it was perfectly notorious that Anjou desired a crown; the two rivals were supposed to be provided for, when Henry of Navarre was affianced to the Princess Margaret, and the Queen of Scots engaged to the Duke of Norfolk. It was true that Norfolk had been committed to the tower, but this only increased Fenelon's anxiety for Anjou's arrival in England, for he trusted that his remonstrances would induce Elizabeth to abate her hostility to Mary, Queen of Scots. Many of Mary's friends entertained similar hopes, believing that Elizabeth's marriage might remove the chief cause of her jealousy against her unfortunate rival. Towards the close of the year 1751, Catherine saw pretty clearly that Anjou would not consent to the marriage on the terms proposed by Elizabeth, and she, therefore, directed Fenelon to take the earliest opportunity of substituting Alençon for the reluctant Duke, declaring that the latter "was not so scrupulous in religious matters as his brother." Accordingly, in a letter of the 25th of January, 1572, Fenelon announces that he had broken off all further negotiations for the Duke of Anjou, and that on the very same day he had proposed Alençon as a new candidate. His recent failure seems to have inspired the ambassador with the highest hope of success in the new project; for he believed

that Elizabeth was eager for the French alliance, and that the failure of the negotiations was attributable to the Duke of Anjou alone.

It must have been a source of great mortification to Elizabeth to feel that she had been refused by the Duke of Anjou. Whether sincere or not in the long negotiation, all the show of eagerness had been on her side, and all the reluctance on his. She never forgave the insult; when Anjou subsequently ascended the throne of France, under the title of Henry III, Fenelon wrote to Catherine that there was great danger of Elizabeth's declaring for the French insurgents, through pique at the contempt with which the new King had treated her two years before. Catherine, in a letter dated June 5th, 1574, declares that persons connected with the English embassy had urged Alençon to take up arms against his brother, offering him large supplies of men and money on the part of Elizabeth. Henry himself showed great anxiety to efface the memory of his offence, but it was never wholly pardoned.

On a calm review of this extraordinary courtship, it is difficult to believe that Elizabeth was insincere from beginning to end; if she designed in the end to jilt the Duke of Anjou, she was properly served in receiving the repulse from him; and if she really wished to marry him after having received certain information of his reluc-

tance, her perseverance deserved the reward it obtained. Whatever may have been the original plots of the actors in the farce, it afforded a blind, during which more than one tragedy was prepared; this flirtation between an old coquette and a young profligate, as we shall hereafter see, sealed the fate of the Duke of Norfolk and the Queen of Scotland.

CHAPTER VI.

LA MOTHE FENELON AND CASTELNAU.

Most of the French and English historians have passed lightly over the negotiations for marriage between Elizabeth and Henry of Anjou; they were unable to perceive or unwilling to credit the miserable motives which, too frequently, direct the course of events, and instead of recognizing Henry's ardent passions and reluctance to be hampered with an old wife as the chief causes of the failure, they have devised a politic scheme for Elizabeth, or a cunning artifice for Catherine, which the proposed alliance was a mere pretext to conceal. Such a solution of the mystery is clearly contradicted by the evidence collected in the preceding chapter; folly, fraud, and cunning, may be found abundantly in the negotiations, but the only particle of wisdom is Fenelon's advice to bribe Elizabeth's ambassadors and ministers, who were all accessible to arguments that took the shape of gold.

The second proposed marriage has been treated more fairly; there are few who doubt that Elizabeth was disposed to accept Alençon, or Anjou, as he became after the accession of his brother, and that the young Prince would have embraced Protestanism or any other *ism*, if it could have obtained him the throne of England. We shall see that not only Catherine and Fenelon, but even the shrewd Castelnau, firmly believed that the project would succeed, even to the last moment of the Prince's life; and we have already shown, at least, a strong probability that the impediment to its completion was the same which hindered Elizabeth from giving her hand to the Earl of Leicester. This second courtship, with a second Anjou, belongs, however, to the highways, rather than the by-ways of history; for many writers have dwelt at length upon its most prominent details. A few traits, however, may be gathered from dispatches, letters, and memoirs, to illustrate what may be termed a romance without either heroine or hero.

Fenelon proposed the Duke of Alençon to Elizabeth's ministers in January; Leicester, Burleigh, and Killegrew expressed earnest desire for his success; but it was not until June that the matter was formally communicated to Elizabeth; the intervening time having been spent in overcoming the real or affected reluctance of the Queen to listen to any new suitor after her recent disappoint-

ment. This coyness gained an important advantage to the English party; the French court was held firm by having made a public demand of the Queen's hand, while Elizabeth's reply was so vague, that it left her free to pursue any course she pleased. As usual, the difference of age was urged by Elizabeth as the chief objection; but Fenelon imagined that the Prince's deformity was a much more probable cause of reluctance; the Queen, indeed, mentioned the fact of Alençon's being seamed with the small-pox, in such terms, that the ambassador found it necessary to refer to the delicate subject. "I answered," he says, in a letter dated July 16th, 1572, "that I had always feared the report of the Prince's countenance would not perfectly satisfy her, though I was sure that in all other respects he was a match for any princess that ever lived; as the scar was simply a result of the small-pox, I had hoped that time would cure it; indeed, I had spoken to a person of great knowledge and experience, who had a certain cure for it, not generally known, with which he had removed the marks from a patient in this city, who had been most deeply pitted by the disease." The Queen, he added, had frequently discussed with him the probable efficacy of this quack medicine, and led him to believe that if the deformity could be removed, the difference of age would be forgotten.

On the 7th of August, 1572, the fatal month of

the massacre of St. Bartholomew, Fenelon writes to his court:—"It seeems to me that she (Elizabeth) has begun this time to use the same looks and words as when she seriously contemplated receiving the proposals of Monsieur, so that I have never known her more inclined to marriage than she is at present: she is, however, anxious to be gratified by a visit from my Lord the Duke; desiring, as she says, that she might prove agreeable to him, and that any objections which he might make to her could be removed,—not that she attaches any importance to those made to him; she further desired me to assure his royal mother that she believes the Duke, according to the representations made to her, to be such a prince that she has not the pride to think herself sufficiently worthy of him. She was also willing to promise that if he came, and the marriage did not take place, she would take upon herself the greater part of the blame, allowing it rather to be supposed that she was refused by him than that he was rejected by her; and then *the excuse of religion might serve for both:* the said Queen showed a great desire for this interview, and proposed plans for bringing it about without compromising the dignity of your majesty or that of his Highness the Duke."

In this extract we have the only intimation of a suspicion which was very likely to occur to the friends of the French person, namely, that Elizabeth only sought an opportunity of publicly re-

fusing Alençon, as a retort for her own rejection by Anjou. The coolness with which she proposes to reserve religion for a convenient excuse, is a pretty strong evidence that this sacred subject had been merely employed as a pretext in the former negotiation. She only adds another to the many examples recorded by De Foe, in his "Royal Religion," of "court ceremonies" being merely "handsome general ways of treating God Almighty civilly."

On the 11th and on the 28th of the same month, Fenelon sent an account of further deliberations respecting the proposed interviews; he had declared both to Elizabeth and her ministers, that his master would not run the risk of having his brother publicly rejected in the face of Europe, after taking so decisive a step as a visit to the English court; and had, therefore, demanded some definite declaration from the Queen before her invitation could be accepted. Elizabeth replied, that the fact of her having given the invitation was a proof of her sincerity, and that the publicity of the fact would be a sufficient security for Alençon's honour.

On the 21st of August, 1572, Catherine wrote to her ambassador a letter of such importance, that we shall insert it at full length.

"Considering your two despatches of the 7th and 11th of this month, I have very good hopes of

the marriage of the Queen of England with my son, Alençon, in which I am assured that you will neglect nothing possible to bring the matter to a prosperous conclusion; I shall not, therefore, write you a long letter, referring you to that which you will receive from the King, my son. I shall only say, that if anything be well commenced and determined respecting the said marriage, it will be easy to manage that the said Queen of England, my son, and myself, should have an interview, in all security to her and us, between Boulogne, or Calais, and Dover; so that all matters could be arranged, as my cousin Montmorenci and myself have proposed; for I have no less wish to see her than she has to see me, indeed, I am as anxious to behold her as if she were my own child. You will delicately intimate this to her ministers and herself, if you find a favourable opportunity, and if you see reasonable prospects of the marriage succeeding.

"We shall take the affairs of Scotland into immediate consideration, and send back M. de L'Espinasse, to the end that not merely a suspension of arms, but a firm peace should be established. I constantly recommend to your care my daughter, the Queen of Scotland; praying you, whenever opportunity offers to continue to the Queen of England and her ministers the good offices you are accustomed to use in her behalf.

"We pray God to have you in his holy keeping."

This letter was written only three days before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and clearly shows that Catherine, up to that time, had not contemplated the great atrocity which was so soon to be put into execution. It adds to the proofs already accumulated, that this monstrous crime was devised and accomplished merely to meet the temporary difficulties of court intrigues, and that it was not merely a fearful exhibition of royal wickedness, but also a signal display of royal weakness. To save Anjou from the dangers to which he was exposed by his attempt to assassinate Coligni, she not only caused the murder of thousands,—a matter which she was likely to regard as a mere trifle, but she sacrificed her favourite project of an English alliance for one of her sons, after having devoted the labour of many years to effect such a marriage, and at a moment when she believed that she had the fairest prospects of success.

On the same day, the Duke of Alençon wrote the following letter to Fenelon: "I see by your despatches how zealous you are in advancing the affair in which I am concerned; you may be assured that I will never forget your services, which I beseech you to continue, in order that I

may obtain the content and happiness which I expect from this negotiation. We hope that the Sieur de la Mole will soon return; we are eagerly expecting him, from our extreme desire that he will bring us good news, and that his exertions to promote my happiness should not be thrown away. I must confess to you, M. Fenelon, that having heard so much of the virtues and merits of the Queen of England, I believe her to be absolutely perfect, and I never can lose the sincere affection which I bear towards her."

We are not about to resume here our examination of the secret history of the massacre of St. Bartholomew; this has been sufficiently discussed already. But the view taken of the atrocity by Elizabeth, her ministers, and the people of England must be noticed, on account of its important influence on the negotiations for the marriage between the Queen and the third of her French suitors. On the 22nd of June, probably not more than twenty-four hours before the signal for the extermination of the Protestants was given, Charles IX. wrote to his ambassador, announcing the attempt that had been made on the life of the Admiral Chatillon; he declares, with singular earnestness, his resolution to punish the assassin, and to secure to the Protestants the protection and privileges granted to them by the edict of pacification. He desires that these resolutions should be communicated to the English

Queen, and adds, in a postscript, "I must not forget to tell you, that this wicked act proceeds from the enmity between his (the Admiral's) house and that of Guise; I shall take good care that they shall not mix my subjects up with their quarrels, and that the edict of pacification shall be obeyed in every point."

On the 24th of August, the evening of the fearful "Matins of St. Bartholomew," the King gave Fenelon the following account of the massacre. "You will have learned from my communication of the day before yesterday, that my cousin, the Admiral, was wounded, and that I took prompt measures to verify the fact, and to bring the matter to justice, in a way which would have been an example to the entire kingdom; nothing on my part was neglected; but it has since happened that the Guises and their adherents, who have no small party in the city, as everybody knows, having discovered for certain that the friends of my cousin, the Admiral, had determined to take vengeance for his wound on those whom they suspected of being its cause, took up arms last night, so that between both a great and lamentable sedition has arisen; the guards placed round the Admiral's house have been forced; he, with several gentlemen of his train, slaughtered; and several others massacred in various parts of the city. These riots have burst forth with such fury, that it has not been

possible to apply such a remedy as could be desired, having been obliged to employ all my forces for my own protection in my castle of the Louvre. I have, however, given immediate orders for appeasing the sedition, which is very violent in the city. It has all arisen from the private quarrel which has so long subsisted between these two families."

By the next day Charles had discovered the impossibility of throwing the blame of the massacre on the House of Guise, he, therefore, writes on the 25th, "I sent you yesterday advice of the disturbances which commenced that morning, continued during the entire day; and which, truly to my great regret, are not yet appeased: but, as we have begun to discover the conspiracy which those of the pretended reformed religion had formed against me, my mother, and my brothers, you will not speak of the particulars of these disturbances and their occasion, until you have more ample and certain intelligence from me, for I hope by this evening or to-morrow morning to have unravelled the entire plot; I will then communicate the truth to you by a special messenger."

On the 27th, Charles furnished his ambassador with a *Mémoire justificatif de la St. Barthelemy*, which, in substance, declares that the Protestants had resolved to avenge the Admiral's wound on the King, the Queen-mother, and his brethren;

that the royal family had been compelled, in self-defence, to seek the aid of the House of Guise; that the Guises had exceeded their orders; and that the mob of Paris, irritated at the danger to which their Sovereign was exposed, had perpetrated most of the massacres without any authority. In the accompanying letter, the ambassador was directed to use every exertion for the maintenance of peace, and great anxiety was expressed lest this dreadful event should injure the negotiations for the marriage.

We have already shown that the apology which Charles made was not without some semblance of truth; the Huguenots had menaced Catherine and her son when they discovered that the Duke of Anjou had hired the assassin who fired at the Admiral; the Guises had eagerly embraced the opportunity of gratifying their old hostility against the family of the Cardinal; and the greater part of the massacres had been perpetrated by the savage mob of Paris, which knew little, and cared less, about the King's real designs or policy. Charles, however, was anxious to conceal his own complicity and that of his mother; but the clumsy devices to which he and she had recourse, only served to render their participation in the crime more glaring and notorious.

On the 28th of August Fenelon, ignorant of the events which had taken place in Paris, wrote, congratulating his court that all the impediments

to the marriage were nearly removed. Two days after, he was astounded by the first rumours of the massacre. He informed his court that the King's despatch of the 24th had been seized and sent to the Queen, that he had received his letter of the 25th, commanding him to wait for further particulars, and that until full explanations arrived he must suspend all diplomatic functions. He adds: "Nevertheless, I must tell your Majesty that this entire kingdom is full of the news of the fact, and it is differently interpreted according to each person's passions, rather than the truth, wherefore, I earnestly implore you to give precisely the same explanations to the English ambassador which you order me to afford here, in order that his letters should correspond with my declarations, for that is a matter of the highest importance."

On the same day he wrote to Catherine, "There are so many and such various accounts of the new and unexpected events which occurred last Sunday in Paris, that I am greatly at a loss how to answer them; this morning, Mr. Wilson, the Queen's Master of Requests, came to me anxious to learn the particulars, but I excused myself from answering as I had not yet received my despatches. I only said I feared those of the new religion had afforded some pretext to the Parisians for rising against them. It is incredible how much this intelligence has agitated the

whole of this kingdom. I shall watch how matters proceed, and forward my observations to you day by day."

On the 2nd of September the ambassador again complained of want of instructions; on the 13th, he wrote an animated description of the effect which the intelligence had produced in England. "It is almost incredible, Sire, how much the confused rumours of the events at Paris, which preceded your messengers, have agitated the minds of the people of London since the 27th of last month. The great affection which many hitherto displayed towards France has been changed into violent indignation, and a marvellous hatred of Frenchmen; reproaches are publicly uttered against the breach of faith, mingled with loud execrations against the outrages and excesses committed; defiances are uttered by those who bear arms, and no one can safely venture to contradict them. Even since the more correct accounts have arrived, they have not moderated their expressions, but have become more furious by exaggerations of the fact, and by the opinion that the Pope and the King of Spain have contributed to kindle this flame in your kingdom, and that the three of you have formed some evil machinations against England."

Fenelon went to Woodstock, which, with his usual infelicity of orthography, he travesties into Orstor, and sought an audience of Elizabeth.

There was a delay of three days before it was granted. "At length," he says, "the Queen summoned me to her presence; I found her accompanied by several lords of her council, and the principal ladies of her court, all keeping a profound silence in her privy-chamber.

"She advanced ten or twelve paces to receive me, with a sad and stern countenance, but still preserving her kindness of manner. She led me to a window, apart, and after having briefly apologized for the delay of my audience, she asked me if it were possible that such reports could be circulated as those which reached her ears, of a Prince whom she had loved and honoured, and in whom she reposed more confidence than in all the rest of the world.

"I replied, that in truth I came to condole with her on the part of your Majesty for so sad and lamentable an incident, through which you had been compelled to pass with greater regret than any event in your life had produced. I then recounted to her all the circumstances according to my instructions."

Elizabeth received the tale told in the *Mémoire Justificatif* with great coldness; she observed that the alleged conspiracy ought to have been investigated in a court of justice: she dwelt at great length on the pledges of security given to the Huguenot leaders when they were invited to Paris, and she hinted that the marriage proposed

to her might be a veil for such an act of treachery as had accompanied the nuptials of the King of Navarre. Fenelon was at his wit's end; the Queen insinuated doubts, her ministers openly expressed disbelief, and the bulk of the English people insulted him and his suite, whenever he appeared in public. It added to his perplexities, that in his secret heart he disapproved of the course which had been adopted, and could scarcely avoid showing his own disbelief of the explanations he was commanded to afford.

Catherine had, at first, been alarmed at the effects produced by the massacre, but her talent for intrigue came to her aid; she devised a new plan to conciliate Elizabeth, which she adopted on the instant, without at all perceiving that it was completely at variance with all her former schemes. On the 8th of September she wrote to Fenelon, "We have found among the late Admiral's papers a long letter to the King, my son, which he had begun when he went to Rochelle and continued to his death; there was another letter which he wrote to Teligny, charging him to send the paper to the King, in which he treats of various matters and makes several remonstrances; among other particulars, he endeavours to persuade the King that his greatest enemies are, and always will be, the Queen of England and the King of Spain, whatever demonstrations they may make to the contrary, calling

them the hereditary foes of his crown; and he advises the King, my said sovereign and son, never to cease until he has ruined them both. I wish to show this to Mr. Walsingham, written with the Admiral's hand, that he may see that the Admiral was not so affectionate to the said Queen, nor so desirous of her friendship as he pretended; she will then see that the said Admiral was truly a dangerous and malignant spirit, who could do nothing but mischief, as he showed in the unfortunate conspiracy which he framed against the King and all of us, who have ever manifested towards him all honour and kindness."

Catherine did not see that this supposed paper completely contradicted the tale of the Admiral's conspiracy against the King; nobody could have left a paper to be delivered to a monarch after his death, recommending to him a course of policy which should spread over many years, who had, at the same time, formed a plot for the murder of that very monarch. It is impossible to determine whether the alleged letter was real or apocryphal; Catherine was very fond of "ingenious devices," though those she produced were as clumsy as the pretended Pastoral Letter with which an Irish orator entertained a long-eared audience in Exeter Hall. The artifice imposed upon nobody but herself; Walsingham, who well deserved his title of "the complete ambassador,"

led Catherine to believe that he was completely deceived by her revelation of the Admiral's hostility to England, and on the 11th of September she wrote to Fenelon, "I must tell you that I have stronger hopes at the present moment of the marriage taking place between the Queen of England and my son, Alençon, than I ever had before."

So completely was she persuaded of her having over-reached Walsingham and Elizabeth, that she resumes the old proposal of a personal interview, and recommends Jersey or Guernsey as a place convenient to all parties. She further assures Fenelon that her son's pock-marks were beginning to disappear, but adds that she will have recourse to the quack medicine he recommended, after an experiment had been first tried on one of her pages. On the very next day she writes that she had a long interview with Walsingham, who had again reverted to the massacre and again allowed himself to be won by Catherine's excuses and protestations. We can gather from Catherine's vague report of the conversation that Walsingham adopted this crafty course in order to procure a repeal of the severe edicts recently issued against the Huguenots.

Fenelon could not venture to tell Catherine that her artifices were employed in vain, but on the 18th of September he ventured delicately to insinuate that her intrigues were not quite so

successful as she supposed. "Madam," he says, "I am greatly pleased with the declarations made to Walsingham by the King and you, which I hope he has communicated to the Queen, his mistress, and that I shall find her better instructed in what really occurred at Paris, than she was heretofore. I shall intreat her to check the evil and calumnious reports which are spread here, and the gross insults publicly offered, which you may well believe that I find insupportable. I will use, as discreetly as I can, the two letters you sent me, and will take care so to employ that relating to the Admiral, as to open a fair way for the proposals contained in the second (the interview and the marriage). Still I must assure you, Madam, that this late accident (the massacre) has been so deep and recent a wound to her and all her subjects, that it will require a very expert surgeon, and most excellent balm, to effect a cure."

Justice Shallow would have admired Fenelon's skill in devising a good phrase; he appears to have been for some time perplexed, in designating the massacre of St. Bartholomew; "the late events in Paris,"—"the unhappy sedition,"—"the ill-timed insurrection,"—had all been rejected after one or two trials; but, at last, he luckily hit upon the convenient term "accident," which in all ages has served as an apology for crimes and blunders. Accordingly, it was settled between Catherine and

her minister that the massacre should be nothing more than an accident for the future. Unfortunately, these accidents were repeated at Orleans, Lyons, and Rouen; on the 29th, Fenelon wrote both to the King and the Queen-mother that when he went to court, none of the courtiers would salute him, or even look at him, and that the Queen had told him, in very plain terms, that she did not believe a syllable of the conspiracy imputed to the Admiral and the Protestant leaders. He had, however, strong hopes from the proposed interview, and recommended Dover as a more suitable place for the meeting than Guernsey or Jersey. To this communication Catherine replied briefly and promptly, that she would not visit Dover so late in the season, especially as "her good sister manifested such deep regret for the events which had taken place in Paris on the 24th of August."

While Fenelon was directed to lament "the accident" in England, the Cardinal of Lorraine, in the name of Charles, addressed a letter of congratulation to the Pope on the destruction of the heretics, which his Holiness, who had long been alarmed by fears of Charles IX. going over to the Protestants, ordered to be printed in letters of gold, and publicly exhibited in Rome. This gratuitous blunder on the part of the Vatican had consequences which its authors did not anticipate; the Pope was believed to have prompted the

atrocity which he approved, and Fenelon was unable to remove the general impression that a wide-spreading conspiracy had been formed for the destruction of the Protestant religion. Overwhelmed by all these difficulties, and particularly by the inconsistencies of Catherine, the ambassador earnestly sought to be recalled; but on the earnest entreaty of the King he consented to remain; he, however, declined continuing the negotiations for the marriage until more favourable times. He assured Catherine that Elizabeth herself had informed him of warnings which she had received from all quarters, of treachery being meditated, and that the phrase "A French marriage," had become a proverbial expression for malignant perfidy.

A daughter was born to Charles IX, and Elizabeth consented to become its godmother, but at the same time she did not hesitate to conceal her disgust at the King's conduct, in attending a public execution on the very day of the birth of his first child. The victims were Briquemant and Cavaignes, condemned for participating in the pretended conspiracy of the Admiral; they were hanged by torch-light, a few hours after their sentence; Charles, his mother, and the Duke of Anjou, were voluntary spectators, and they compelled the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navarre to attend also.

The baptism of the French Princess appeared

to Catherine a favourable opportunity for renewing the matrimonial negotiations. "I pray God," she says, "that it may afford occasion for renewing the proposals of marriage between her and my son, who is her very affectionate servant, and has grown lusty and strong, so that there is no longer the disparity which she feared, for he is much changed since it was said he might be mistaken for her son. I entreat you to renew the proposal by the best means you can, so that we may see our way clearly; for if she wishes to have the hope of children, it is time that she should resolve to marry." So firm was Catherine's persuasion of the possibility of renewing the negotiations, that she sent over Castelnau to Fenelon's assistance. Elizabeth received the renewed proposition with marked coldness, and started so many fresh scruples, that Castelnau returned to France in despair, and Fenelon solicited his recal still more urgently than before.

Fenelon was induced to remain, and even to resume the matrimonial negotiations; but he seems to have had very trifling hopes of success, until Alençon himself took the field and sent letters into England, professing the most ardent passion for the Queen that ever was felt by a romantic lover. Elizabeth now became urgent for an interview; Catherine declared that she would not consent to such a measure, until a private promise of marriage was given. After a protracted ne-

gotiation of some months, Catherine yielded the point of etiquette, but Elizabeth no longer evinced anxiety for the interview, which Alençon urged with great eagerness. Fenelon began to suspect that he had been duped, and remonstrated angrily with Lord Burleigh; from him he received nothing but vague protestations and suggestions of fresh difficulties, which afforded scope for protracted discussion. Charles sent the Marshal de Retz to England; Elizabeth, in return, sent Randolph to France; but these envoys-extraordinary effected nothing ordinary or extraordinary, and at the close of the year 1573, the marriage was no farther advanced than it had been in the beginning.

On the 3rd of February, 1574, the ambassador writes that Elizabeth had taken a new freak; she consented to an interview with the Duke of Alençon, but on the condition that his visit should be strictly private. This opened a new series of discussions; at length the French court yielded the point; Fenelon, as he declares in his letter of March 9th, hasted to gratify her with the news of this concession; but she demanded further delay for consideration, fearing, as she asserted, that the ambassador, in his letters to his court, had attributed greater eagerness to her than was consistent with maiden modesty! It is creditable to French politeness, that Fenelon listened to this piece of affectation without laughing; perhaps he was too

much annoyed to be amused, for he remonstrated angrily against such trifling. In the end, Elizabeth consented that Alençon should come to Dover, where she would take an opportunity of meeting him secretly, under the pretence of a hunting excursion.

Just at this crisis Charles discovered the conspiracy in which Alençon had engaged to obtain the office of Lieutenant-general of the kingdom by force; he immediately arrested his brother and the King of Navarre, and he caused their agents, La Mole and Count Coconas, to be executed. Elizabeth had interceded for La Mole, whose crime she justly declared arose from his attachment to his master, Alençon; the refusal of a pardon greatly mortified her, and Fenelon was at a loss whether he should rejoice at her evincing such an interest in her suitor's affairs, or grieve at her increasing irritation against the court of France. She told the ambassador, with a smile, that "she would not have a husband in fetters, and that she would form no decisive resolution until she received the report of Captain Leyton, whom she had sent on a special mission of inquiry to France."

Charles IX. died on the 30th of May; his mother immediately assumed the regency, in the absence of her son Henry, who had been the year before elected King of Poland. As she was aware that plans had been formed to exclude Henry,

and transfer the crown to his younger brother, she kept a close guard on Alençon, and suspended the negotiations for his marriage until her favourite, Henry, should be settled in his kingdom. Always ambitious of power, which she never knew how to wield, Catherine resolved to use the regency in such a way as would ensure her permanent supremacy in the new reign. She opened negotiations with the Protestants, declaring her anxiety to procure the concession of all their reasonable demands, and at the same time allowing her feelings of revenge to counteract her schemes of policy, she caused the Count of Montgomery to be publicly beheaded, though he had received assurances of safety when he surrendered. To make this tragedy bear its proper share of farce, she declared that piety prompted her perfidy, and that she was taking vengeance for the mortal wound which Montgomery had accidentally given her husband, Henry II, about fifteen years before. Elizabeth and her ministers were too suspicious of Catherine to enter into any intimate connection with her; on the contrary, they began to make preparations for defence, fearing that she might join a Catholic league for the extirpation of Protestantism.

The accession of her old suitor to the throne of France was still more alarming to the English Queen; she and Henry III. hated each other

most cordially; his share in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, or rather, the fact that he was the primary cause of the terrible catastrophe and the principal agent in its atrocities, had now become notorious, and immediately after his accession he had declared his intention to continue the war against the Huguenots with the utmost vigour. The fame which he had formerly acquired by the victories of Jarnac and Moncontour, led all the Protestants of Europe to believe that they would find him a more dangerous enemy than any who had yet appeared; and the same reminiscences raised the hopes of the Papal party to an extravagant height. Both soon learned that their fears and hopes were equally misplaced; the new Cyrus, as he was called by his flatterers, proved to be but a new edition of Sardanapalus, only differing from the original because he could be roused to acts of cruelty in some of the wearisome intervals produced by the fatigues of sensuality.

For more than a year the negotiations for the marriage between Elizabeth and Alençon, or, as we must now call him, Anjou, were permitted to slumber. In the meantime, the young prince had proved so troublesome to his mother and brother, that they would have been glad to get rid of him on any terms; and he felt himself so uneasy in France, that he would have married the con-

centrated essence of the Gorgons and Furies, if the match afforded a reasonable prospect of escape from the difficulties by which he was surrounded.

Catherine used to call him her "feather-headed son;" Henry never used a milder epithet in speaking of him than "that villain," or "that wretch;" he reciprocated such sentiments of affection, for he joined in several plots against both. Le Laboreur declares that this hopeful Prince had at one time resolved to pretend a fit of sickness, and when his mother came to visit him, to strangle her by the aid of the King of Navarre. His own confessions afford indisputable evidence that he had entered into a conspiracy to prevent the accession of Henry, by intercepting him on his return from Poland. Under such circumstances, it might appear an act of exalted virtue in the mother and brother to endeavour to match him with the Queen of England; but a very brief glance at the position of the parties will at once show that there was just as little virtue in the transaction as there was wisdom in the conduct of the negotiations.

Catherine, as we have already mentioned, was haunted by the early prediction of an astrologer, that all her sons should wear crowns; Elizabeth had more than once tantalised her by allusions to the prophecy whenever she was anxious to gain some contested point; already had three of her sons worn the crown of France, and she feared

that the prediction might be fulfilled, by Henry going down childless to the grave, and leaving the crown to the fourth brother. To avert such a catastrophe from the son she adored, she laboured incessantly to procure a kingdom for the son she despised; thus astrology directed her diplomacy, save when the violence of her passions led her to forget the decrees of the stars. But Catherine was not a lady to be contented with a single idea; she had a favourite daughter, as well as a favourite son; this daughter, Claude, had married the Duke of Lorraine, and Catherine hoped to procure the crown of France for Claude's son, if Henry died without issue. For obtaining success in this project, it was necessary to remove Anjou from France, and Henry of Navarre from the world—objects which she appears to have had equally at heart.

Henry's anxiety to unite his brother to Elizabeth was dictated by his hatred of both; persuaded that he would be a bad husband, and she a worse wife, he trusted to derive pleasure from their mutual misery. It was exceedingly probable that in a few months Anjou would break Elizabeth's heart, or that she would break his neck; it is not easy to say which event would have been most grateful to the French monarch, but he speculated on one or the other; and had the marriage taken place, the chances are that he would not have been disappointed.

On the 13th of July, 1575, Fenelon announced to his court that the negotiations for the marriage had been resumed; he declares that the English ministers had taken the lead in reviving the proposal, and on the 6th of August he forwarded the details of a communication which he had received from one of the Lords of the Council on the subject. At the same time, he wrote to Catherine in the following curious strain, intimating a doubt whether the match, under existing circumstances, would be acceptable to the French court: "The despatch which I have now forwarded, will inform your Majesty of the contents of a letter written to me by one of the first and most influential lords in this kingdom, to which I have not replied, and I have, therefore, doubted whether I ought not to have kept it secret, and avoid agitating a matter which has been several times tried in vain, and which, under present circumstances, may not appear desirable at your side of the water. But, considering that it is my duty to reveal all affairs to your Majesty, in order that you may arrange them according to your pleasure, and that the nobleman who has written to me is a person of great weight and importance, and so discreet that he says nothing without a good foundation, I have, finally, resolved to conceal nothing from you. I have abstained, however, from offering any opinion of my own, because your Majesty must see clearly what passes in your

own court, and can form a sounder opinion of English policy than I am able to do. I will only add that the people here will delay sending over the Order of the Garter to the King, until they have some intimation of your Majesty's intentions in this matter."

After the interval of a week, the ambassador began to fear that Elizabeth had resolved to wage war on France, and that Henry had given her some fresh cause of provocation. He, therefore, endeavoured to render her more acceptable to the King, by mentioning a circumstance, which, with such a monarch, was likely to prove her greatest recommendation; he, therefore, vaunts that she had recently burnt several Dutchmen for heresy. They were condemned to the stake, says he, because they refused to recant their heretical opinion of its being unlawful for Christians to hold the office of magistrates.

Fenelon had often solicited his recal in vain, but his coldness in the marriage negotiation decided Catherine to give him a successor, and Castelnau was sent to replace him in the English court. On the 10th, Fenelon wrote to say that Castelnau had arrived, and had been graciously received. On the 20th, he sent his last despatch from the English court, giving the following account of the renewed negotiations: "We have conducted the negotiations on the part of his Highness, your son, with the best order and the

greatest patience possible for us, under the circumstances, and have insisted firmly on the points which you commanded us; so that we have brought the said Queen and her council to a final statement of the terms to which they mean to adhere, and on which the final rupture or conclusion of the matter must turn. We have been satisfied on good grounds to accept the answers given to your propositions by the Queen herself, which are very honourable, and which, if well considered, ought to afford satisfaction, since they leave it in your power either to complete or break off the match, without any breach of friendship."

Thus, to the very last, Fenelon was convinced that Elizabeth was really bent on marriage, and that a union with one of the French princes was not less consonant to her inclinations, as a woman, than it was obviously advantageous to her position as a Queen.

Castelnau, as we have already seen, was, from the very outset, persuaded that Elizabeth had no real intention of marrying, and he laboured to bring over the King and the Queen-mother to his opinions. His letters on the subject have neither the interest nor variety of those of Fenelon; he generally dismisses the matter briefly, and directs his attention to national questions. Leicester, however, professed himself anxious to continue the negotiations for the French match;

and, therefore, we have given in his life nearly all the particulars of any interest, from the departure of Fenelon to the death of the unfortunate suitor. To prevent repetition, we shall only here record the few additional particulars supplied by the correspondence of Castelnau.

Mary, Queen of Scotland, had hoped that the marriage would either lead to her deliverance, or, at least produce a great alleviation of her captivity. But when the negotiations were so long protracted, she became impatient, and addressed Castelnau to intercede with the Queen, and procure her better treatment. From one letter, dated from the Earl of Shrewsbury's, May, 1581, it appears that she was refused the most ordinary indulgences. She says, "Though I am unwilling to trouble you with my private affairs whilst you are engaged in such weighty and important negotiations (those relating to the marriage); still, I am compelled to importune you respecting my treatment in this captivity, and the impediments to my obtaining necessary exercise. Notwithstanding all the promises you have sent me, and particularly the last which were made to you, no orders have yet been received here; and the Earl of Shrewsbury, when I spoke on the subject, readily declared that he had not had any new orders. I beg that you will procure the directions of *my good sister*, the Queen of England, respecting my exercise, to be sent

hither by a special messenger, requiring that I should be allowed the use of a coach or a litter, for I am become so weak and feeble in my limbs, that I cannot walk a hundred steps, though I am better than I have been for the last six months. Ever since Easter I have been obliged to be carried about in an arm-chair, which, on account of the very limited number of my servants, cannot be long continued."

Castelnau remonstrated with Elizabeth, and obtained promises in abundance; indeed, at one time, he entertained strong hopes that Mary would be liberated. But when Henry, alarmed by the progress of the League, showed himself bent only on effecting the destruction of the Guises, and when James of Scotland abandoned the cause of his unfortunate mother, Elizabeth sternly refused not merely to grant Mary her liberty, but even to allow any alleviation of her imprisonment. On the 9th of April, 1585, Mary wrote to Castelnau, announcing that her captivity had been aggravated by fresh indignities and privations. A few extracts will sufficiently explain her just grounds of complaint.

"About three weeks or a month ago, a poor young Catholic, whose only crime was his religion, was imprisoned in a turret, within ten steps of my apartment, and just opposite my window; during which time I have often seen him dragged by force to attend the prayers of the other reli-

gion. And, from what I have heard, not being able to prevail upon him by these means, neither by the persuasion of ministers, nor by violence, he was found strangled in his prison last Tuesday. Every one may form his own judgment of this matter; for my part, I leave it to God, from whom nothing is hidden. But in whatever way it may have happened, it will be difficult to clear those of the crime who have reduced him to such extremity. . . . . I intreat you to remonstrate with the Queen, my sister, on the want of respect shown to me in turning my residence into a public gaol, and persecuting in my presence, and, as it would seem, for the express purpose of annoying me, those of my own religion. . . . . What comfort, do you think, such a spectacle must have afforded me, which was, in fact, exhibited before my window? And what assurance can I have for my life, long so eagerly sought, when the lives of such poor persons are not spared, though their deaths bring neither honour nor advantage?

" I can no longer depend on any assurance that can be given me, not even on the word of my good sister, the Queen, notwithstanding the sincerity of her intentions, which cannot resist the usurped authority of my enemies. I see that matters have gone too far, to leave my life any longer at their mercy. I, therefore, implore before God the natural goodness and piety of the said Queen, my good sister, and the intercession

with her of my brother-in-law, the King, your master, and of all the kings and princes of Christendom, if my miserable and perilous condition can touch their hearts with pity, that it might please the said Queen, without further delay, to grant permission for my deliverance and departure. If the very advantageous offers I have already made are insufficient—though she has told me that they were such as to leave her nothing more to require—in the name of God, let her make what additions she pleases, and there is nothing but what, with the advice and mediation of the said King, I will accept and grant, to procure some repose for my afflicted soul and body during the short space of life that remains to me."

On the 15th of May, she complained of new persecutions: "In addition, amongst the other innovations of which I wish to complain through you to the Queen my good sister, I have to mention that Pawlet has not allowed me for some days past to send alms, proportioned to my limited means, to the poor of the village. This must be attributed to very extraordinary rigour, for charity is a pious work, and one which no Christian can blame; Pawlet, too, might cause my messenger to be accompanied by such of his people or soldiers as he pleased, or even by the constable of the village, so as to prevent any fault or suspicion. As there would have been thus full

security for his charge, I feel that it is a grievous wrong to deprive me of the opportunity of performing a Christian act, which would afford me some comfort in my maladies and afflictions, and do no harm to anybody. You will, therefore, I trust, remonstrate with the said Queen in my behalf, intreating her to command Pawlet not to treat me in this way, for there never was a criminal or prisoner, so vile, poor, and abject, as to be refused such a privilege."

Castelnau faithfully delivered these messages; but Elizabeth had now made sure of James I. and his councillors, she, therefore, had no longer any reason to temporize, and she refused either to answer Mary's letters, or to give the ambassador any satisfaction. In her letter of the 10th of July, written when she knew that Castelnau was about to return home, Mary dwelt bitterly on the abandonment of her cause by her son, in his recent treaty with Elizabeth, and even requested that the French court should withhold an acknowledgment of his title. While expressing her gratitude for the exertions made in her behalf by the French court, she complains of the flimsy pretexts on which they had permitted her liberation to be delayed, justly declaring that her enemies would never want an excuse, so long as her friends would admit the validity of such pleas as changes of government in Scotland, disturbances in France, and conspiracies in England. In con-

clusion, she professed her inability to reward the ambassador for his exertions; but she assigned to him the administration of her dower-lands, and promised to intercede with the Guises for the restoration of St. Dizier, which they had usurped.

Castelnau demanded permission to visit the captive Queen; the favour was peremptorily refused, and he began to find that his own sovereign had greatly abated in his zeal for her safety; he foresaw that Mary's life would not long be spared; Henry's favourites had begun to intercept the revenue from her dower-lands, her son had openly abandoned her cause, and a large party in England demanded that she should be brought to the scaffold. The ambassador felt that he had been deceived by Elizabeth and her ministers during the entire course of the negotiations, but he had the means in his power of exposing the arts by which he had been baffled, and a dread of this upright minister protected Mary while he remained in England. Before his departure he obtained from Elizabeth the removal of Mary to a more comfortable residence than Tutbury, and also induced the Queen to write a friendly letter to the unfortunate captive. The delight of Mary at receiving such a communication was very great,—but, in a short time, the former rigours of her captivity were renewed, and she wrote to Castelnau that his efforts had

been vain. Alluding to a disease in the arm from which she suffered, she says "It is the inheritance which I have obtained from seventeen years of an imprisonment which I fear will only terminate with my life. I pray God to give me the necessary patience."

After his return to France, Castelnau appears to have vainly endeavoured to induce the court of France to interfere efficiently for the deliverance of the Queen of Scotland. The wars of the League had rendered Henry III. too bitter an enemy to the House of Guise for him to do anything that would promote their interests. Le Laboreur even hints that he expressed some wish that Mary should be removed, and that he was cognizant beforehand of the miserable trickery by which Elizabeth attempted to transfer the odium of the execution to her secretary Davison.

Equally ineffectual were Castelnau's efforts to obtain payment of the money which he had advanced to the Duke of Anjou, when that Prince visited England, and the other large sums which he had expended for the service of his court. The troubles occasioned by the League rendered Henry unable to perform this justice to his faithful servant, even had he been so disposed, which, however, is doubtful. The Guises refused to restore to him the government of St. Dizier which they had seized during his absence, and

even permitted their lieutenant to retain possession of the personal property which had been left in the town. Finally, the Leaguers pillaged his house and estates, because he refused to desert the royal cause, and this was the reward of his long services to the House of Guise.

Castelnau intended to have continued his Memoirs, which he began in England, but the Civil wars of France prevented him from accomplishing his purpose; the notes he made are incorporated in Le Laboreur's work. From these notes we find that he was thoroughly disgusted by the folly and profligacy of the court of Henry III. A specimen of some of the scenes which he was doomed to witness, will sufficiently illustrate the condition of the French court under the last of the House of Valois. As the King's want of religion was the chief pretext for the formation of the League, Henry, to refute such a report, instituted several devout Associations and Penitential Confraternities. Several of these devout Associations were mere pretexts for concealing gross debauchery. Jane de Cossè, the Lady of Francis de St. Luc, suspecting the pious grimaces of her husband, secretly followed him to one of the retired palaces where the pretended penitents secluded themselves. She had soon ocular demonstration of his hypocrisy, and bitterly reproached him for his infidelity. St. Luc suspected that the King had some share in betraying him to his wife,

and, therefore, joined her in practising a trick upon his superstition. Jane, disguised as a ghost, appeared before the King, who was waiting for a different companion in another cell; she recited the crimes of which her husband had revealed the secret, menaced him with the vengeance of heaven, and so frightened Henry that he fell on the ground in an agony of terror. He only recovered fully when the artifice was explained, and he was then with difficulty prevented from sacrificing St. Luc and the lady to his vengeance.

After this event, the King became more serious in his Confraternities, but his companions retained their old habits, so that the Abbè de Tyron was enabled to write a tolerably large history of Devotional Gallantries, which, fortunately for many noble families, he deemed it prudent to burn when he was on the point of being taken prisoner by the Leaguers.

While Henry passed his time in these alternations of penance and profligacy, his Queen, Louisa of Lorraine, had to endure not only the mortifications of a deserted wife, but the insulting proposals of licentious courtiers, who regarded her modesty as mere hypocrisy and her piety as grimace. Under these circumstances she assumed a rigid and almost ascetic sternness of character which rendered her a striking contrast to all by whom she was surrounded. She became noted for the harshness, almost amounting to brutality, with

which she repulsed declarations of passion, and this brought around her troops of admirers, some aspiring to obtain a conquest of acknowledged difficulty, and others only anxious to provoke her to the utterance of a sarcasm which would furnish amusement to the court. The wits of the day did not spare such an opportunity for epigram; one compared the Queen to a wasp surrounded by butterflies, another to a she-bear vexed by monkeys, while a third gravely proposed her canonization for having so miraculously resisted certain heart-winners who in all previous encounters "came, saw and conquered." Though Louisa was aware that her despicable husband countenanced these scurvy jests, she continued through life to evince an affectionate concern in his interests, and after his death she devoted time and money to investigating the circumstances of his assassination, though well aware that the inquiry was likely to compromise the safety of some of her own relatives.

After the assassination of Henry III, Castelnau, now aged and impoverished, tendered his services to Henry IV, by whom they were gladly accepted. The monarch knew how faithfully the old man had devoted his life to promoting the interests of the house of Valois, and how badly he had been rewarded; he promised that he would recompense his children, and this promise was almost the only inheritance which Castelnau

had to bequeath. He died rather suddenly at the age of seventy-four; it is gratifying to add, that the royal promises were fulfilled and that his children reaped the reward of his patriotism.

Many have expressed their surprise at the steadiness with which Castelnau adhered to the cause of Catherine de Medicis, though he disapproved her general course of policy; but Catherine found the way to his heart by manifesting an extraordinary partiality for his wife and daughter to whom he was fondly attached. Mary Stuart equally availed herself of this mode of winning his support, but in her case there is no reason to doubt her sincerity. She had been sponsor for Castelnau's daughter at baptism in the happy days of her youth, and her remembrance of this tie was associated with almost the only pleasures she had known in life. We shall conclude this article by extracting a letter which Mary wrote to the young lady from prison. It would be injured by a single word of comment.

"My child and pet,

"I have been rejoiced to find in your letters the proof of those perfections with which God has endowed you in your early youth. Learn, my darling, to know and serve Him who has given you such grace, and He will multiply his blessings upon you; I heartily pray that He will do so, and grant you his sacred benediction. I send

you the little token of a poor prisoner, to remind you of your godmother; it is a trifle, but I send it as a testimony of my affection for you and yours; it was given me by the late King, my kind and revered father-in-law, whilst I was still young, and I have kept it to the present hour. Remember me kindly, and look upon me as a second mother, for such I wish to be.

"Your very affectionate

"MARY."

"Sheffield, Jan. 26."

CHAPTER VII.

THOMAS HOWARD,

FOURTH DUKE OF NORFOLK.

All the matrimonial speculations of Elizabeth ended in farce; all those of her unfortunate rival, Mary, Queen of Scots, terminated in lamentable tragedies; but both the actors manifested, in nearly the same proportion, such a mixture of treachery, meanness, selfishness, and folly, that derision in the one case, and pity in the other, are both drowned in indignation. The nobleman whose melancholy fate we are about to investigate, was equally the victim of tyranny, craft, and folly; the tyranny was Elizabeth's, the folly his own, and the craft belonged to an anticipated alliance of "the Pope, the Devil, and the Pretender," whose existence in fact and principle was a century older than their appearance in name and person.

The fourth Duke of Norfolk was the son of the accomplished Earl of Surrey, the last and best representative of the chivalry of the Knights and the poetry of the Troubadours. He was be-

headed for having borne the arms of Edward the Confessor quartered with his own, though the heralds had solemnly recognised his right to do so, and he had borne the same arms for years, even in the King's presence, without ever being questioned. Insane as the tyranny of Henry VIII. often was, it is impossible to believe that this heraldic trifle was the real cause of Surrey's judicial murder; from a paper preserved in the archives of the State-paper Office, written by the Chancellor Wriothesley, but corrected in the King's hand-writing, it appears that Surrey was suspected of some design on the Princess Mary. How far these suspicions were correct, it is now impossible to discover; but if they were well-founded, it is a singular coincidence that the father should have died for loving Mary of England, and the son for courting Mary of Scotland.

Thomas Howard was only ten years of age when his father was put to death; his guardianship devolved on his aunt, the Duchess of Richmond, for his grandfather, the third Duke of Norfolk, who had only escaped the scaffold by the death of Henry on the eve of the day appointed for the execution, was detained in prison during the whole of the reign of Edward VI. Under her charge the young orphan was educated a Protestant, Foxe, the martyrologist, being his tutor, and he steadily adhered to the Reformed religion during his life. He was very much at-

tached to Foxe, he aided him to escape from England when Mary's persecutions began, received him into his house when he returned from exile, maintained him as long as he lived, and bequeathed him a pension at his death. On the accession of Elizabeth, the young Duke received the most signal marks of favour; he was created a Privy Councillor, a Knight of the Garter, and Lieutenant-general of the North, — an office of great importance on account of the unsettled state of Scotland.

It is not our purpose to write the life of the Duke, our attention will be confined to his tragic courtship of the Scottish Queen, and more particularly the part taken by the French court to bring about the marriage. It is only necessary to premise that before he was induced to seek Mary's hand, he had been three times a widower; his first wife, Mary of Arundel, was the heiress to the title and estates of that ancient earldom, which have ever since remained in the possession of the Norfolk family. By his second wife, the widow of Lord Henry Dudley, brother of the Earl of Leicester, he had a son, William, the progenitor of the Earls of Carlisle; his third wife was the widow of Lord Dacre, by whom he had no issue. Few particulars of the Duke's domestic history have been preserved; his first duchess, the Lady Fitzalan, was attached to the old religion; and her son, the heir of Norfolk and Arundel, appears.

to have been educated in his mother's creed; this lady was highly distinguished by her literary attainments, and while she lived seems to have guided her husband's conduct; her father's friendship to the Duke was not diminished by her death nor by their opposite views of religion. Norfolk was hospitable, generous, and affable; his princely fortune was dispensed with princely magnificence, and the attention paid to him by the rest of the nobility was very little short of the honours accorded to royalty itself. Such power and such popularity were likely to mislead a man of stronger mind than the Duke; he was diffident of his own judgment, and this defect made him liable to become the dupe of artful flatterers and the tool of designing courtiers. Cecil, introducing him to Sir Ralph Sadler, says, "One notable quality he hath, wherein is great commendation, he will do nothing almost of any moment in his private causes, but upon advice; which property shall be most convenient for this charge." Cecil had fallen into the common error of clever men, he forgot that the conduct of a person who will do nothing "but upon advice" will be determined by the character of his advisers, and that, unless he had secured these, it would be unsafe to speculate upon his "convenience."

Norfolk's ill fate pointed him out as the proper head of the Commission appointed to assemble at York in order to investigate the charges made

against Mary Queen of Scots, or rather to make out a case which would justify Elizabeth in detaining that unfortunate lady in captivity. The Duke might have been found a very pliable instrument, had he not been won over to the adverse party before the Commission assembled, by the hope of obtaining the hand of the royal captive. We are in a great measure left to conjecture to discover the origin of this scheme, which the superstition of that age would have pronounced disastrous, from the very commencement; he had been already three times a husband, and she three times a wife; their marriage, consequently, even in a more enlightened age, would have been regarded as something portentous.

It is probable that the scheme was first suggested by the Lady Scrope, sister to the Duke, under whose charge Mary was placed at Bolton, after being removed from Carlisle. The Bishop of Ross declares that the hopes which Mary had formed from Norfolk's favour and influence, were the chief motives which led Mary so far to depart from her regal rights as to put herself on trial before the Commission. Matrimonial intrigues had, in fact, become ordinary means of state policy, Cupid was turned into a diplomatist, and Hymen was an envoy-extraordinary for the conclusion of treaties.

The Commission met at York, on the 4th of October, 1658, under the presidency of the Duke

of Norfolk, and exhibited one of the most extraordinary spectacles that the world has ever witnessed. A diary of its proceedings has been preserved, and it exhibits all parties engaged in a game of cross-purposes, which would have been exceedingly amusing, but for the magnitude of the interests involved. Norfolk justly said, "Some seek wholly to serve their own particular turns; the which being done, they care not what becomes either of king or queen." Elizabeth's ministers desired to find some excuse for detaining her rival a prisoner; the Scottish regency was anxious to gratify her wishes, without being compelled to disclose the secrets of their own machinations; Mary claimed a triumphant acquittal; but was at the same time solicitous that some portions of her conduct should be sheltered from scrutiny; every other person engaged in the transaction had some private object of his own to gain, and thus all parties were involved in investigating what it was the interest of all to conceal.

The marriage of Norfolk seemed to afford means of deliverance from these perplexities; Murray, the Scottish regent, hoped that the Duke would continue him in power; the rest of the Scotch expected that each might drive his own bargain in a new change of government; Sussex and Sir Ralph Sadler may have expected that a compromise would save the honour, and satisfy

the fears of their mistress; and a very large body hoped that the increased influence of Norfolk would be a counterpoise to the envied power of Leicester and Cecil. Such a solution of the complicated intrigues at York was about the most sensible that could have been adopted; but its rationality was its ruin; Elizabeth, with more than female vindictiveness, had resolved on a signal triumph over Mary, and she removed the Commission from York to Hampton Court. Ere this was done, Norfolk had contrived to commit himself with both parties. Though Murray had abstained from openly charging Mary with murder and adultery, he had privately submitted his proofs to the Commissioners, and Norfolk wrote word to Cecil that he was thoroughly convinced of her guilt, while he privately described himself to Mary's friends as her enamoured suitor.

The proceedings of the Commission, when brought more immediately under Elizabeth's superintendence, have the merit of being intelligible. Murray was encouraged to produce the documents and letters on which he founded his charge of Mary's complicity in the murder of Darnley, and adulterous intrigues with Bothwell; the English Queen, supported by the votes of all her councillors, Norfolk included, declared that Mary should not be admitted into her presence, until she had cleared herself of these charges. Good care was taken that she should have no

opportunity for any such vindication; she was refused a sight of the original documents, and even her reasonable request to be supplied with duplicates of the principal papers, was tacitly rejected. We can add nothing to the evidence collected for and against the authenticity of these documents; the anxiety of Mary's friends to have them suppressed at York, seems to prove that, at least, some of them were genuine; while, the withholding of them from Mary's examination, may equally justify the belief that some of them were forged.

Norfolk believed that they were authentic; he was greatly incensed against Murray for having produced them; and, according to the evidence of the Bishop of Ross, he was engaged in a plot for the murder of the Regent, on his return to Scotland. Through the intervention of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the Duke was again reconciled to Murray, and, being once more assured of his favouring the match, procured him letters from Mary herself, forbidding her friends to molest him on his journey.

Two separate conspiracies were formed for bringing about the marriage. One in which the Earl of Leicester took the lead, was designed to secure the Protestant succession, though several of the Catholic peers were joined in it. A letter was addressed to Mary by the Earls of Leicester, Pembroke, and Arundel, and Lord

Lumley, recommending the marriage, but requiring security that nothing should be attempted with regard to the English crown prejudicial to Elizabeth and her posterity. Mary gave a favourable answer, and further assented to a stipulation, that nothing should be definitively concluded without Elizabeth's consent.

The second conspiracy, which most historians have confounded with the first, was exclusively a Catholic plot, and there is abundant evidence that the Duke was never cognizant of its entire details. The most ample account of this transaction is contained in Fenelon's dispatches; it forms the subject of a "memoir to be communicated to the Queen, he having first obtained her promise that she will not speak of it to anybody." It is of great historical importance, because it establishes beyond controversy the nature and objects of the Rudolphi Conspiracy.

This remarkable document, dated March 13th, 1569, thus begins:—"Signor Robert Rudolphi, a Florentine, having received charge and commandment from the Pope in his proper person, to treat on the restitution and re-establishment of the Catholic religion in England with the Catholic Lords of that country, has addressed himself principally to the Earl of Arundel and Lord Lumley, with whom he was previously connected by having lent them large sums of money, which has given him a favourable oppor-

tunity of conducting these negotiations without suspicion, has found these noblemen favourable to his projects, but unwilling to attempt anything without the aid of the Duke of Norfolk, whom they found it very difficult to gain over. At length they have succeeded in persuading him, and at present he takes a deeper interest in the matter than the other two. And on account of his great influence in the kingdom, the Earls of Derby, Shrewsbury, Pembroke and Northumberland, and several others who are not confirmed in the new religion, have shown, as soon as his inclinations were known, a readiness to follow him. But to avoid displeasing their Queen, whom they greatly honour and reverence, and to prevent war and bloodshed, they have deemed it necessary, before manifesting their designs in favour of the Catholic religion, to rescue the administration of public affairs from Cecil and his partisans, who are all adherents to the new religion, and have monopolised power ever since the Queen's accession; so that the associated nobles might then, by their own authority and without contradiction, establish the said Catholic religion."

This precious plan appears to have been framed by Rudolphi, who hoped to lead the persons named to the desired result; but the persons named, though certainly enemies to Cecil, were far from being all disposed to favour the restoration of Papal influence. The ambassador goes

on to state that the old nobility of England viewed with great jealousy the exclusive power possessed by the new families which had risen to wealth and rank since the Reformation. He dwells on Leicester's jealousy of Cecil, and states that the favourite might be induced to join in the project from mere hatred of the minister. But he adds that Rudolphi believed a perfect union between France and Spain to be essential to the success of the scheme. In conclusion, he urges the importance of secrecy, asserting that on former occasions France had lost great opportunities by allowing similar matters of importance to be whispered at court.

From his subsequent letters, Fenelon seems rightly to have concluded that Rudolphi and the Papal party had communicated to him rather what they had hoped to effect by the marriage than what had been actually done at the time. Catherine and Charles anticipated this conclusion; in his reply the King recommended Fenelon to promote the marriage with all his might, not with any view towards the restoration of the Catholic religion, but to prevent the revival of any proposals for uniting Mary to some prince of the house of Spain. Fenelon on the 27th of July announced that the treaty for marriage was far advanced, that Elizabeth had begun to suspect the design but that it was very likely she would be unable to resist the power of its contrivers.

The Duke of Norfolk, in a document which has been preserved, declares that the Earl of Leicester was the person who framed the project for this marriage, and that he promised to take a favourable opportunity of opening the matter to Elizabeth. We find from Fenelon that he so far kept his word as to remonstrate with his mistress on the perils to which she was exposed by prolonging the captivity of the Queen of Scots. Incidentally, we learn that Elizabeth's health was at this time weakened, and that the thoughts both of courtiers and statesmen were necessarily directed to the question of the succession.

Norfolk had confided his hopes to the ambassadors of Spain and France, and to Wood, an emissary of the Regent Murray. A contract of marriage was prepared and placed in the hands of Fenelon, whose letter on the subject to Queen Catherine shows the almost incredible imprudence of the Duke. In this he actually engaged to restore Mary to her throne! He requested Fenelon to procure the approbation of the French court and the house of Lorraine, urged Catherine to demand the liberation of Mary from the English ambassador at Paris, and strenuously recommended that a French army should be sent to the relief of Dumbarton Castle, where Mary's friends were closely besieged by the army of the Regent of Scotland! A nobleman who had committed himself so imprudently with Fenelon,

could not be expected to be more cautious than others; in fact, Elizabeth from the very beginning had been made acquainted with his proceedings by the Regent Murray; she had remonstrated with him on the subject at the Conferences of Hampton Court, but the Duke had disarmed her suspicions by declaring that "he would not marry where he could not be sure of his pillow." When the Court was at Farnham, Elizabeth invited the Duke to dine with her, and as she rose from table significantly reminded him of his former declaration, by warning him "to beware on what pillow he laid his head." Leicester having heard of this ominous hint was seized with a convenient fit of sickness; being visited by Elizabeth he confessed all he knew, and easily obtained pardon for his share in the transaction. Norfolk, if we may believe Fenelon's account, displayed more spirit on the occasion than was usual in the court of Elizabeth. In a private letter to Catherine, dated September 14th, 1569, the ambassador says "There have been high words between the Queen of England and the Duke of Norfolk, and I hear that she was very angry with him for negotiating the marriage without her knowledge, forbidding him expressly to carry the matter further in any way. To which he replied that he never intended to do anything without her gracious permission, and that he had above all things proposed to himself the honour, safety, and advantages of her

crown, but he excused himself from obeying the command which she had given in her anger, until the matter should be laid before the Council. As she replied that she had no occasion to consult her Council on the subject, the Duke remains firm to his purpose, and it is thought that he will attempt the removal of the Queen of Scots to a place of greater security, and at the same time withdraw himself from Court."

Mary had a second matrimonial project under consideration; some of her foreign friends had proposed Don John of Austria, an illegitimate scion of the Spanish royal family, as her suitor, and she secretly listened to these proposals; indeed, she gave them so much encouragement as to alarm the French court. It is well "to have two strings to your bow," but it is not always well "to have two beaux to a string;" her listening to the Spanish proposal distracted her councils, and rendered many of her best friends suspicious of her sincerity. Both Charles IX. and Catherine urged Fenelon to support the suit of the Duke of Norfolk as powerfully as he could without giving offence to Elizabeth; and Catherine ordered Fenelon to hint to Mary that the Spaniards were promising more than they could perform. "I have had a conversation with my cousin, the Cardinal of Lorraine, on the subject of the proposals (made by Norfolk) to the Queen of Scotland; he told me that one of the

secretaries of the said Queen, returning from Flanders, had told him that the Duke of Alva had sent over ten thousand crowns, which confirms what you stated, and promised, if she wished to listen to the proposed marriage with the bastard (Don John), to aid her with twenty thousand men. . . Were she to take him at his word, he could not fulfil his promise."

All the lords of the Council, with the exception of the Earl of Sussex and Cecil, had at first approved Norfolk's marriage; Sussex was convinced of Mary's complicity in Darnley's murder, and, therefore, believed that a marriage with such a woman, even though she had a kingdom for her dower, would be calamitous and disgraceful; the knowledge of Leicester's participation rendered him still more averse to a scheme in which his favoured rival had interfered, and he endeavoured to reconcile Cecil with the Duke of Norfolk, by writing to the minister, and recommending him to have a personal explanation with the Duke. Cecil was well aware that his destruction, or, at least, his removal from political power, was the main object of most of the promoters of the marriage, and he would gladly have had an explanation with Norfolk if he could have found an opportunity; but the Duke had been so completely deceived by the Scottish Regent, that he believed Murray sincerely desirous for his sister's restoration, and only anxious

to have the new order of things secured in Scotland by her marriage with a Protestant nobleman. A high sense of honour rendered the Duke unfit to deal with the accomplished practitioners in treachery that surrounded him; it would be well if he had remembered that the very nobles who had recommended Bothwell as a husband to Mary, were foremost in condemning that marriage, and urging it as a crime sufficient to deprive her of the crown.

The heartless defection of Leicester, and the coldness of those who had at first taken an active share in the promotion of the match, at length alarmed Norfolk; he quitted the court without taking leave, and retired to his splendid mansion at Kenninghall. His example was followed by the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke. Fenelon thus communicated the intelligence to Catherine:—"Madame—The proposed marriage of the Queen of Scotland has come to such a point, that the Queen of England insisting that the Duke of Norfolk should break it off, and he obstinately refusing to do so, resolving to persevere to the death, she made such demonstrations of discontent, that he has quitted the court without taking leave, at which the said Queen is very indignant."

Elizabeth was more than indignant, she was seriously alarmed; circulars were sent to the most zealous and influential Protestants in the

several counties, exhorting them to be on their guard; additional precautions were taken to prevent the escape of Mary; a strict watch was kept at all the ports; and the despatches of the French ambassador were intercepted, opened, and detained. Among the intercepted papers, which were afterwards restored, was the following letter from Mary to Fenelon:—"I send to you by the present bearer to let you know that I shall be transferred to-morrow from this place to Tutbury, and afterwards to Nottingham, where I shall be placed in the hands of the greatest enemies I have in the world,—viz. the Earl of Huntingdon, Viscount Hereford, and others of his faction, who are already arrived here. I find no constancy in the Earl of Shrewsbury at this hour of my need; notwithstanding all the fine speeches he formerly made, I cannot trust to his promises. Considering these matters, I am in great fear for my life, wherefore I beg that so soon as you receive this letter, you will communicate either with the Bishop of Ross or the Duke of Norfolk, and consult with them, and my other friends, to determine the best expedient for my safety. I entreat of you, also, to speak yourself to the Queen of England to hinder my removal, if it be in your power, at the earliest moment you can obtain an audience. Dated from Wingfield, September 20th, 1569."

Fenelon in transmitting this affecting appeal to

Catherine, declared that the parties in England were likely to come to blows, unless some speedy remedy should be devised. On the 3rd of October, he communicated to his court the outrage offered by the interception of his despatches. The letter is remarkable for the evidence it affords of the little scruple shown by the enemies of Mary and the Duke of Norfolk. "Sire, I wrote you a despatch on the 27th of last month, and my messenger having gone to obtain his passports from Lord Cobham, who only detained him an hour and a half, was attacked by certain persons imperfectly masked at a pass through a wood, within three miles of Lord Cobham's house. They struck him with their swords on the head, felled him to the ground, trampled him under the feet of their horses, and, after having taken away his despatches, left him bound hand and foot to a tree. . . As I was about to close those despatches, I received a brief letter from the Queen of Scotland, a copy of which I sent with the rest, that you might see to what a condition the said lady was reduced. I send you this copy again, and am pondering whether I shall not lay it before the Queen of England, to touch her heart, if it be not too hardened; and to place before her eyes the great injury done to her reputation by those who give her such furious counsels as she puts in practice against this unhappy princess."

Norfolk, on the pressing instances of the Queen and the council, resolved to return, though Fenelon, and many of his friends, strenuously endeavoured to dissuade him from trusting himself to the court. The Duke had written to Cecil that he was "ill of an ague;" and certainly the cold fit was on him, when he quitted his friends in the north, and came to submit himself to Elizabeth's pleasure at Windsor. He was arrested at St. Alban's, and, after a short detention at Burnham, was sent by water to the Tower on the 11th of October. Fenelon adds, that Elizabeth's perplexities were greatly increased by intelligence from Scotland, where the news of the proposed marriage had been joyously received by a large portion of the nobility and of the people, who had become weary of the government of the Regent Murray.

Elizabeth's first resolution was to bring the Duke of Norfolk to trial for high treason; she was, however, dissuaded by Cecil, who wrote her a very able letter, in which he clearly showed that such a charge could not be maintained. On the 21st of October, Fenelon was admitted to an audience, where he protested that neither he nor his court had interfered to promote the marriage! Elizabeth took the assertion for just so much as it was worth, and intimated pretty plainly, that she did not believe one syllable of his assertions. The great victory obtained over

the Huguenots at Moncontour alarmed the English Protestants, and, proportionally, raised the hopes of the Catholics; great agitation was shown in the north of England,—symptoms of the insurrection which soon after took place. Fenelon records an important incident, which has escaped the notice of most historians. Elizabeth appointed a commission to interrogate Norfolk, consisting of the Lord Keeper (Bacon), the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Bedford, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Walter Mildmay, and the Secretary Cecil. "The Duke," says Fenelon, "answered so prudently to all their interrogatories, that when they made their report to the Queen, she was greatly exasperated at their attempt to excuse him, and said several things which proved the irritation of her mind; so that when one of them ventured to say that according to the laws of the country they could find no culpability in the Duke, '*Away!*' she replied, '*what the laws fail to do, my authority shall effect.*' So great was her anger that she fell into a fit, and they were obliged to have recourse to vinegar, and other remedies, for her restoration."

Cecil proposed a characteristic expedient for removing all difficulties; it was simply that the Duke should marry his sister-in-law, who happened to be a widow. Norfolk, who had been privately assured of the interest which the French court would exert in his favour, refused

to listen to this proposal, and Cecil, by making it, once more raised the jealous suspicions of Leicester, and induced him again to side with the Duke.

The insurrection of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in the north of England took place in November, while Norfolk was a prisoner in the Tower. Though his liberation was an avowed object of the insurgents, he certainly was not a participator in their designs, for the leaders, influenced by the Spaniards, had resolved to break off the treaty with Norfolk, and to marry Mary to a Spanish prince. This greatly alarmed Fenelon: he says, "I am doing all in my power to interrupt the practices of the Duke of Alva, and to confirm what has passed between the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk; and in this the Queen and the Duke, though under restraint and separated from each other, display unaltered constancy, and each shows a readiness to sacrifice liberty, or even life, for the other; but I fear that their long imprisonment may lead to a change in their affairs."

The northern Earls had been induced to take arms, by large promises of assistance from Spain; but when they had irretrievably committed themselves, the aid was withheld, in the hope that the insurgent nobles would be compelled to assent to the new demands which the Duke of Alva had to propose. Fenelon was empowered by his court

to offer them pecuniary assistance, provided they rejected the Spanish proposals, and thus a new source of discord was added to the distracted councils of the insurgents. Alva virtually demanded the dethronement of Elizabeth, and the elevation of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the throne, on the condition that she should take a Spanish prince for her husband. Few of the northern nobles would consent to such terms; on the 18th of December they dispersed without striking a blow; and thus, by the selfish obstinacy of Spain, and the hesitating vacillation of France, Elizabeth was delivered from the greatest peril to which she had been exposed in the course of her reign.

The insurgents were closely pursued, and treated with all the severity of martial law. Cecil wrote to Sir Ralph Sadler to hang the poorer rascals, but recommended that the richer should be brought to trial and attainder; "for," as he says, "otherwise it is doubtful how the Queen shall have any forfeiture of their lands or goods. And hereof I pray you think:" Sir Ralph thought of the advice with a vengeance; after having hanged more than three hundred in the county of Durham alone, he reserved fifty-seven for trial, attainder, and forfeiture. The lands and goods were, of course, distributed among the greedy courtiers, to whom, during the whole of Elizabeth's reign, a rebellion, whether in England or Ireland, always afforded a profitable harvest.

Some efforts were made to implicate the Queen of Scotland and the Duke of Norfolk in the northern insurrection, but no evidence of their complicity could be obtained. Equally vain were the attempts to persuade the Duke that Mary had been ready to abandon him for the Spanish match; he had received from her several affectionate letters, so full of confidence and kindness, that they would have confirmed the faith of a far less credulous lover. We insert one of these amatory effusions, which some have described as "the address of a very crafty woman to a very weak man," but which really appears to be marked by candour and sincerity.

"MINE OWN LORD,

"I wrote to you before, to know your pleasure if I should seek to make any enterprise; if it please you, I care not for my danger; but I would wish you would seek to do the like; for if you and I could escape both, we should find friends enough; and for your lands, I hope they would not be lost; for being free, and honourably bound together, you might make such good offers for the countries and the Queen of England as they should not refuse. Our fault were not shameful; you have promised to be mine, and I yours; I believe the Queen of England and country should like of it. By means of your friends, therefore, you have sought your liberty

and satisfaction of your conscience, meaning that you promised you could not leave me. If you think the danger great, do as you think best, and let me know what you please that I do, for I will ever be, for your sake, perpetual prisoner, or put my life in peril for your weal and mine. As you please command me, for I will for all the world follow your commands, so that you be not in danger for me in so doing. I will, either if I were out by my humble submission, and all my friends were against it, or by other ways, work for our liberties so long as I live. Let me know your mind, and whether you are not offended at me; for I fear you are, seeing that I do hear no news from you. I pray God preserve you, and keep us both from deceitful friends:

"Your own, faithful to death,

"Queen of Scots, my Norfolk.

"This last day of January (1569-70)."

The murder of the Regent Murray revived the hopes of Mary's partisans; Fenelon, by his master's directions, urged Elizabeth to take this opportunity of pacifying England and Scotland, by restoring the captive Queen to her freedom and power, after having taken such precautions as would prevent her from disturbing the realm of England. Elizabeth, aware of the discontents of the old nobility, and of the Catholics, was forced to dissemble; she opened negotiations for

the deliverance of Mary, but took care that they should proceed very slowly, trusting that the chances of time would furnish some pretext for continuing her detention. The correspondence between Norfolk and Mary was very active during the entire year 1570; the Duke endeavouring to persuade the Queen that Elizabeth's consent to their union might be hoped, and she professing a willingness to follow his advice, but insinuating that she would more willingly listen to any feasible project of escape. On the 4th of August, 1570, the Duke was permitted to leave the Tower and go to his own house; but he was not wholly released from custody, nor was he summoned to take his place either in the council or parliament, though he had bound himself by a written obligation to conform to Elizabeth's wishes. In this document he solemnly declared "I do utterly renounce and revoke all that which, on my part, anywise hath passed, with a full intention never to deal in that cause of marriage with the Queen of Scots, nor in any cause belonging to her, but as your Majesty shall command me." The insincerity of this submission appears from the Duke's maintaining his communications with Mary and her friends, and from the representations he made to Fenelon. The ambassador writes, "The Duke of Norfolk, after being liberated from the Tower, sent to thank me for my good offices, and the kindness he had experienced from me in prison,

which had afforded him singular consolation and hope; and, being persuaded that this proceeded from the command of their most Christian majesties, he has entreated me to kiss their hands on his behalf, and assure them that, next to his mistress, he is a more devoted servant to them than to any Prince on earth, and that he ever recommends to them the cause of the Queen of Scotland, for whose restoration he is willing to hazard his person, his life, and his fortune."

It was about this time that Elizabeth began her courtship with Henry, Duke of Anjou; and it is scarcely possible to avoid coming to the conclusion that this was an artifice to damp the ardour of the French court, for the deliverance and restoration of Mary. It was so far successful, that Fenelon ceased to interest himself in the marriage of the Duke of Norfolk; and that nobleman, having lost his hopes of aid from France, fell into the hands of the crafty and unscrupulous agents of Spain. Mary, whose hopes of deliverance by the interference of Charles and Catherine were blighted by the same event, led the way in this fatal course. But it was her only hope; for while Catherine believed that there was a chance of obtaining Elizabeth's hand for her son, she was not less interested in prolonging the captivity of Mary than Elizabeth herself.

Unjustly subjected to restrictions little short of actual imprisonment, illegally deprived of his par-

liamentary privileges, and bound by every honourable tie to the cause of the captive Queen, who declared that he was her only hope and stay, it is not surprising that the Duke adopted what appeared to be the most feasible means to effect Mary's deliverance, even though they compromised his loyalty, which had been hitherto unimpeachable. Had Elizabeth and her ministers devised a plan for goading this unfortunate nobleman into treason, they could not have adopted measures more certain to produce such a result than those which they pursued.

The English Catholics in Elizabeth's reign were divided into two parties: the Papal and Spanish, to which most of the seminary priests belonged; and the moderate and French, which included the greater part of the nobility and gentry that still adhered to the old religion. It was the policy of those who advocated persecution to confound these parties together, and attribute to the entire Catholic body the fanatical violence of their Papal associates. On more than one occasion Elizabeth saw the pernicious folly of thus driving faithful subjects, in spite of themselves, to defensive measures, which could not always be kept consistent with allegiance. Fenelon declares that she had even listened to a project for uniting the Anglican and Latin churches; but she was surrounded by persons eager for Catholic confiscations, who well knew that there

was one sure means of keeping her from friendship with Rome, and that was to recall to her mind that, according to the canonical laws and decrees of the Vatican, she must be regarded as a usurper and illegitimate. Few of the Popes in the sixteenth century were blessed with common sense; Sixtus, indeed, possessed a large share of political sagacity; but he did not receive the tiara, until bigoted folly had done more mischief than wisdom could cure; to acknowledge the legitimacy of Elizabeth would have been just and wise; but it would have compromised the nonsense of infallibility; and, therefore, the proposal could not obtain a hearing at Rome. The court of Madrid resolved to gain control over English policy, and, well aware that Elizabeth would never submit to its dictation, patronised only the fanatical party that disputed her title; and, as we have seen, refused all aid to the insurgents of the North, because they refused to advance to such a length.

From these facts, it is evident that the Duke of Norfolk exposed himself to imminent hazard when the increasing coldness of the French court induced him to have recourse to the Spanish friends of Mary; if not immediately involved in treason, he could scarcely avoid the peril of misprision of treason; for, from Fenelon's letter already quoted, we see that Rudolphi had made the restoration of the Catholic religion the chief object of his in-

trigues. As agent for the Pope, the Florentine secretly communicated with Mary, and there is no doubt that she submitted his proposals to the Duek of Norfolk. Now the Pope, Pius V, who united the narrow prejudices of a monk to the pride of a pontiff, had just published a bull excommunicating Elizabeth, and absolving her subjects from their allegiance. This bull, "half Irish and half Roman," had been published in England, and had done more injury to the Catholic cause than anything which had occurred since the commencement of the Reformation. After such a measure, the Pope could have made no proposals in which the deposition of Elizabeth was not intended more or less directly. On the Duke's trial, however, it was far from being proved that Rudolphi had formed any project for deposing the Queen; but it certainly was proved that a plan had been framed for effecting the deliverance of Mary by the joint means of a foreign invasion and domestic insurrection. On the 8th of February, 1571, Mary wrote to her agent the Bishop of Ross, stating the several projects which had been laid before her, and assigning very strong reasons for preferring the Spanish propositions. This letter was sent by the Bishop to the Duke; it was found concealed in his house, "under the mats in an entry leading to his bedchamber," and the key to decyphering it "was found hidden in the tiles of the house." It is

not necessary to quote the whole letter, the important parts are, that Mary's English friends proposed to gain possession of her person, "if the said King of Spain will embrace my cause and theirs,"—and that concessions should be made to Spanish and Romish bigotry. "The fear that they have on yonder side that the Duke of Norfolk will remain Protestant, stays and holdeth all things in suspense. It shall be practised here to take away wholly the said suspicion, and to accommodate the whole to the satisfaction and contentment of the King of Spain and the Pope. I see no other means but to assure them of the Duke, for that is the knot of the matter. My whole hope is in the Catholics of this realm." Finally, she leaves Rudolphi's mission dependent on the Duke's pleasure. "The season requires diligence and celerity; and, therefore, if the Duke of Norfolk thinks the voyage of the said Rudolphi good, I am of advice it be rather sooner than later, and not to tyne time."

The project then was nothing more than a plan for the rescue of Mary by an armed force, and covering her retreat to Spain, or to some other safe residence abroad; consequently, the Duke's assent to it would, therefore, not have amounted to treason. But there is no proof that he did assent; at least, no effort was made to refute his declaration at the trial. "I sent word that I misliked all these schemes, and I advised her to de-

pend only upon the Queen's majesty; or else, if she would take any other course, both I, and all other her friends in England, would give her over." There can be no doubt, however, that the Duke tacitly assented to some scheme for Mary's deliverance in which foreign powers were to combine with the Catholics of England; but, so far as the evidence goes, it appears that money was the only aid sought from foreigners; there is not a tittle of proof that the Duke contemplated a hostile invasion of England.

The truth appears to be, that the Duke had, unfortunately, become associated with a party whose ultimate designs went to the full extent of treason; but that he either was not aware of these designs, or that he supposed it possible to use the Spanish and Papal agents to further his own projects, without his being compelled to adopt any of their plans. There can be no doubt that Norfolk entered into correspondence with the Duke of Alva, and solicited aid both of men and money; but it is evident from the whole course of the proceedings that this assistance was asked for Mary's friends in Scotland; indeed, it was to them that the bag of money was sent; the interception of which was the source of Norfolk's ruin.

Baily, a servant of Queen Mary, was arrested at Dover, with letters in cypher, directed to *Quarante* and *Trente;* the Bishop of Ross con-

trived to get possession of the packet, before it could be laid before the Privy Council; but Baily having been tortured on the rack, confessed that he had written these letters at the direction of Rudolphi; that they contained an assurance of the Duke of Alva's readiness to co-operate with the parties to whom they were addressed, in invading the kingdom; but that he did not know who these parties were. The destruction of these letters prevents us from pronouncing positively on the accuracy of Baily's account; but the examination of the Bishop of Ross shows that the object of the Duke of Norfolk was the deliverance of Mary, and not the dethronement of Elizabeth.

The Duke undertook the perilous task of sending money to Mary's partisans in Scotland. Hickford, his secretary, gave a bag containing six hundred pounds to a person named Brown, desiring it to be conveyed to Bannister (the Duke's steward), near Shrewsbury, and telling him that it was only fifty pounds sent for ordinary expences. The weight of the bag contradicted this improbable lie; and Brown, suspecting that something was wrong, carried it to the Privy Council. In addition to the money, there was a letter in cypher, which was rightly supposed to contain directions for its distribution. The Duke of Norfolk, the Bishop of Ross, Hickford, Bannister, and Barker, the Duke's confidential ser-

vant, were immediately arrested. Hickford at once told all he knew; Bannister's confession was extorted by the rack, and Barker's by "the extreme fear of it;" the Bishop of Ross was also threatened with the torture, but he withheld his information until he received a positive assurance that it should not be used to the injury of any man.

This money had been advanced by the French ambassador to support Mary's party in Scotland; Fenelon at once came forward to take upon himself the responsibility of its transmission; but he injured the Duke by declaring that it was intended for the French agent in Edinburgh, while the letter found in the bag expressly declared that it was "to be conveyed to the Lord Herries, to be sent by him forthwith to Ledington and Grange." The ambassador also entreated Charles to intercede for Norfolk, and, in the strongest terms, asserted his belief in the Duke's innocence. He was, however, completely baffled by the English ministers, who successfully exerted themselves to render him jealous of Mary's intrigues with the court of Spain, and, at the same time, to inspire him with hopes of the immediate conclusion of the marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou. On the 26th of September, he wrote, "It is incredible how anxiously the Queen of England labours that both (Mary and Norfolk) should be aware of the

deep interest she takes in their justification." Incredible, indeed, was such a tale, when on the 9th of the same month, Burleigh had written to Sir T. Smith;—"Her Majesty will have you use some extremity with Barker, if he will not confess more truth, and will have you put him in fear of the torture, if he will not confess the truth voluntarily." And on the 20th, Sir Thomas wrote back, "Of Bannister with the rack, of Barker with the extreme fear of it, we suppose we have gotten all." On the 20th of October, Fenelon transmitted to his court a paper which had been circulated by authority, accusing Norfolk of having contrived a Spanish invasion, and the restoration of Popery, "in order to deprive him of the favour of the people, who greatly love and pity him." Contrivances were also employed to spread an alarm of the imminent danger of the kingdom. "The watch are increased," says the ambassador, "day and night in this city, and in the other principal towns in the kingdom, and on the roads, so that terror and alarm are spread on every side, and those who adopt such precautions do not exhibit less fear than those against whom they are made." Two persons, named Barney and Mather, were executed for high treason, on the charge of having conspired to liberate the Duke of Norfolk, and assassinate Lord Burleigh; but the evidence against them was very suspicious, and the great probability is, that these

wretches were sacrificed to continue and increase the delusion of danger.

On the 14th of January, 1572, the Duke was brought to trial; and Fenelon avers, that the scaffold for his execution had been erected some months before. Mr. Jardine's ample report of the trial renders it unnecessary to enter into particulars here. The charges were three:

1. That he had sought to marry the Queen of Scots, she being an enemy of his liege sovereign, as she had proved by quartering the arms of England with her own, and never having withdrawn her pretensions to the crown.

2. That he had adhered to the Queen's enemies, the Pope and the King of Spain, having invited them to invade the country.

3. That he had given aid to the Queen's enemies in Scotland, by sending money to the partisans of Mary, whom Elizabeth did not hesitate to stigmatise as rebels.

The first charge was obviously "the very head and front of his offending;" it is a singular coincidence that, as in his father's case, the entire weight of the charge rested on a question of heraldry. The quartering of the royal arms was the only pretext that could be adduced for describing Mary as an enemy; and it was notorious that though she had never formally retracted the pretensions thus made by implication, she was, from the day of her return to Scotland, willing

to give Elizabeth's title all the security in her power. The first and third charges were, therefore, such manifest distortions of the law of treason, that, had they stood alone, it is scarcely possible to suppose that his peers would have found him guilty.

The second charge was proved only by the examinations of the Bishop of Ross and the Duke's servants, which had been obtained either by torture, or the threat of it. No opportunity was afforded for cross-examining the witnesses, and only garbled extracts of the examinations were produced. After, however, going carefully over all that has been published on the subject, and the manuscripts relating to the trial in the British Museum, we believe that the Duke did join in plans for the forcible rescue of Mary by foreign aid, and that during the discussion of those plans, proposals were made, within his cognizance, which were decidedly of a treasonable nature. But here the evidence stops; we find no overt act to prove that he even meditated rebellion against Elizabeth.

Fenelon's account of the business is worthy of attention. He wrote to his master,—"Sire, as I informed you by my letter of the 18th, the Duke of Norfolk has been condemned to die, having, nevertheless, so ably replied to all the charges respecting matters between the Queen of Scots and himself, that the accusation was found to be

trifling; but he has not cleared himself so well of the intrigues which he was accused of conducting with the Duke of Alva through Rudolphi, to obtain money from the Pope, and forces from the King of Spain, and to have descent made on the coast of Norfolk in favour of the said Queen. It is true, that he firmly declared that he knew nothing of such a project, and that the letters of the Duke of Alva, which were produced, could not convict him. Still, on the depositions of his two secretaries and the Bishop of Ross, the capital sentence followed, which was pronounced by the Earl of Shrewsbury, to the great astonishment of everybody, and to the infinite regret of the better sort, and generally of the whole people."

The Duke's behaviour during his trial was in every way worthy of his rank, and when the verdict was given, he merely said, "The Lord's will be done; God judge between me and mine accusers." He was a little moved by the recital of the barbarous sentence in cases of high treason, and made a more passionate assertion of his innocence than he had in the course of the trial; but his bearing was still that of a nobleman, hopeless of life, and resolved to die with dignity.

It is singular that this trial, which originated with the greatest statesman, and was conducted by the most eminent lawyers of England, should be one of the most unsatisfactory in the whole of our criminal records. There was an obvious

anxiety to involve the Rudolphi conspiracy in mystery; indeed, the solicitor-general declared, "I have, also, my lords, one thing to say to you from the Queen's own mouth. The lords of the Privy Council do know it very well, but it is not here meet in open presence to be uttered, because it toucheth others that are not here now to be named; but by her highness's order, we pray their lordships that they will impart it unto you more particularly. In Flanders, by the ambassador of a foreign prince, the whole plot of this treason was discovered, and a servant of his, not meaning to conceal so foul and dishonourable a practice, gave intelligence hither by letters, and hath therein disclosed the whole treason in such forms as hath here been proved unto you. But I refer the more particular declaration thereof to the peers of the Privy Council."

Anything more monstrous than this proceeding of Mr. Solicitor-general Bromley can scarcely be found in all the annals of criminal jurisdiction. Participation in the Rudolphi conspiracy was the only ground on which a capital conviction could be based, and yet the most important evidence relating to the charge was given on anonymous authority, and in the absence of the prisoner.

The evidence of the Bishop of Ross is very unsatisfactory; it is so given as to mix up together plans for the liberation of Mary, with plots for the destruction of Elizabeth; and though

these are obviously distinct offences, they are represented by the crown-lawyers as so completely identical that the proof of the one always must include the other. We have nowhere a clear statement of the objects proposed by the invasion, and still less any account of the extent of the Duke's knowledge of the plans of those with whom he was engaged. It is very doubtful whether he saw all Mary's letters; and, assuredly, he did not know that she had listened to a proposal of marriage with a Spaniard.

There was an interval of four months between the Duke's condemnation and his execution; for Elizabeth felt some natural reluctance to shed the blood of one so nearly allied to her by her mother's side, and in her secret soul must have been convinced that Norfolk's guilt was the natural and necessary result of her own conduct. Charles IX, whose memory is for ever blackened by his share in the atrocious massacre of St. Bartholomew, displayed, on this occasion more native goodness of heart than has been conceded to him by the generality of historians; he desired the English ambassadors to inform their mistress of his deep sympathy for the Duke of Norfolk and the Queen of Scots, and he commanded Fenelon to exert all his energies to avert the calamitous fate with which they were menaced. But the exertions of Charles were neutralised by the intrigues of his mother; Catherine was now per-

suaded that the match between her son and the Queen of England was on the point of being concluded, and she was, therefore, willing to make any sacrifice that would gratify Elizabeth; she was also induced to believe that Mary had been insincere and was disposed to follow Spanish counsels at the moment that she professed herself dependent on France alone. Fenelon records that the Earl of Leicester reproached him, in the name of Elizabeth, for having shown more zeal in behalf of the Queen of Scots than the instructions from his court warranted; this was untrue, so far as Charles was concerned, but Walsingham's letters abundantly prove that Catherine was ready to abandon the cause of her daughter-in-law, and acquiesce at least in her perpetual imprisonment.

Four times Elizabeth signed warrants for the Duke's death, and as often respited the execution; Cecil had now become the most inveterate enemy of the Duke; and we find in his letters to Walsingham, that he was greatly annoyed by the Queen's hesitation. "God's will be done," he says, writing the history of a reprieve, "and aid her Majesty, to do herself good." A clamour was raised by Cecil's partisans; the Duke was denounced from the pulpit and by the press; sermons and pamphlets required that he should be sacrificed for his attempt to restore idolatry; private letters were sent to the Queen, warning her that she was hazarding her personal safety;

and, finally, both Houses of Parliament united in an address, stating that there could be no security for the realm so long as the Duke lived, and requiring, rather than requesting, his immediate execution. There were two other propositions against the Queen of Scots; one for putting her to death, and a second for making it high treason to assert her right of succession to the English crown. Elizabeth made a merit to Fenelon of rejecting these propositions, and also an excuse for yielding on the third point, and consenting to the death of the Duke.

"Her parliament," says Fenelon, "discontented at this refusal (of the acts of attainder against Mary) have insisted that at least the execution of the Duke of Norfolk, who was already condemned, should be conceded, and this was so warmly urged by those who had the matter at heart, that the Queen of England could not resist them. Wherefore the Duke was brought out on the scaffold (June 2nd, 1572,) at a very early and unusual hour (eight o'clock in the morning), and confessed, in the presence of those who were assembled, that he had offended God by his sins, and transgressed against his sovereign; because after having promised her, though not on oath, to abstain from treating with the Queen of Scotland, he had written to and received letters from the said lady, and had also received a letter from the Pope, which he did not seek, but which had been

forwarded to him by Rudolphi. He protested that he never by word, deed, or even thought, had attempted anything against the Queen his mistress, or this realm, and he took his death as witness of this truth before God and men. Then with a firm and magnanimous countenance, he submitted to the executioner, greatly regretted by all good men. His body was carried back to the Tower, on a bier covered with black velvet, and some form of funeral was allowed to his remains." To Catherine he says, "it is true that the poor Duke of Norfolk is dead; the last act of his life has afforded the fullest proof of his innocence, and excited regret in the heart of everybody."

Mr. Jardine, in his interesting collection of the criminal trials, accuses Norfolk of disingenuousness and prevarication. We can only find one instance of these faults, his breach of promise to Elizabeth. The inconsistency that occasionally appears in his examinations clearly arises from the captious nature of the questions put to him, and the craft with which his accusers blended together the schemes for Mary's liberation and the plots for raising her to the throne. He was also perplexed by finding, from the course of the examination, that he had been most deceived where he had most implicitly trusted. He had been deceived by the Regent Murray, who pretended an anxiety to restore his sister, provided she was

married to a Protestant nobleman; by the Lords of the Council, and particularly Leicester, who recommended him as a husband to Mary, and promised to reconcile Elizabeth to the match; by the French court, which had led him on by promises of support, and abandoned him when Elizabeth duped them into the hope of obtaining her hand for a French Prince; by Mary herself, whose only aim was to make the Duke the means of her deliverance and restoration to power; by Rudolphi and the Bishop of Ross, whose purpose was to make him their tool for re-establishing the Romish religion in England; by the Duke of Alva, whose purpose was to involve Norfolk in insurrection, and then make total subservience to the designs of Spain the price of any assistance that might be rendered him; but among all these deceivers the most perilous was the Bishop of Ross; for his own confessions prove that, from the very beginning, his entire aim and object were the subversion of Elizabeth's throne, and the Protestant religion in England. We do not question the Bishop's sincerity, but it must be remembered that he was threatened with the rack, and informed that neither his episcopal character, nor his privileges as an ambassador, could save him from the torture or the penalties of high treason. He was, therefore, in some degree, likely to frame his answers more in accordance with the preconceived opinions of his interrogators than with the

precise facts, especially as a mere shade was often the only distinction between the projects limited to a rescue, and those which went to the entire extent of treason.

There remain many difficulties in this strange history, which it is scarcely possible to remove; Leicester's motives in urging Norfolk to become the husband of the Queen of Scots, are not very apparent, unless he might have wished in a new reign to have had a powerful party against Cecil; his subsequent abandonment of the Duke is quite consistent with a character equally compounded of meanness and ambition. Cecil's eagerness for Norfolk's execution after his condemnation cannot be easily reconciled with his exertions to prevent Elizabeth from bringing the Duke to trial, unless, in the interval, he had become acquainted with the fact that his removal from power was one of the chief objects of those who had projected the marriage. Elizabeth's reluctance to sign the death-warrant was probably real, for in her heart she must have been convinced of her victim's innocence; but she feared that he would, in spite of precautions, become the husband of her detested rival; and she thought the block was the only security against the bridal pillow. The dignity of guilt is wanting in all the contrivers and perpetrators of this judicial murder; all the actors were meanly criminal, and they have, perhaps, escaped indignation, because they

were protected by contempt. The trial is just a record of a struggle between a sturdy, but not clever dupe, and a set of practised sharpers; the Duke's life was filched away, and he was so perplexed by the shuffling, that he never clearly comprehended how it was that his enemies prevailed. His behaviour at the place of execution showed that he did not comprehend the charge on which he was condemned; and, indeed, this is a matter which those who condemned him have not thought proper to explain.

Norfolk's condemnation, and his subsequent execution, were communicated to Mary with exulting barbarity by Sir Ralph Sadler and the Countess of Shrewsbury. The blood boils at reading Sadler's triumphant account of the misery which the intelligence inflicted on the captive Queen. Her tears were made the subject of bitter mockery; she was refused even the luxury of indulging her tears in private. Another victim to the fanatical folly of the times must have increased her sorrow; the Earl of Northumberland, who had fled to Scotland after the suppression of the Northern insurrection, was sold by the Scottish Regent to the English Queen, and beheaded at York, without any form of trial. Finally, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who had been Elizabeth's most faithful friend before she came to the throne, and one of her most able servants afterwards, having been thrown into the Tower for

his efforts to promote the Duke of Norfolk's marriage, died of a broken heart. Thus miserably ended the only feasible means by which Elizabeth could have innocently extricated herself from the difficulties in which she was involved by her conduct towards the Queen of Scots; well might it be said that Folly ruled the age when Common Sense involved the penalties of treason.

CHAPTER VIII.

HUGH, EARL OF TYRONE;

AND NOTICES OF WALTER, FIRST EARL OF ESSEX.

It is with reluctance that we enter on a subject connected with the government of Ireland at any period of its history; political and religious controversies are associated with every person and event mentioned in the annals of that country, from the landing of Henry II. to the accession of Queen Victoria; parties and factions have almost confessedly distorted and misrepresented every incident, however neutral in its character, and on all sides the grossest perversions of facts are received as articles of Faith. Differing in everything else, there is a principle common to every party that has been formed on an Irish question, and that is, a determination to see nothing but the perfection of virtue on their own side, and the consummation of iniquity on the other. Unfortunately, there is more to justify the latter part of such a view than the former; from the beginning of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, it seemed to be the object of

every party in Ireland to effect the least amount of good by the greatest possible instrumentality of evil. The Tudors set the example of this blundering policy; to them must be attributed no small share of the calamities which the country suffered under the Stuarts, and to them must be attributed the origin of most of those evils which have rendered Ireland a source of perplexity to the statesman, shame to the patriot, and grief to the philanthropist. Oxenstiern wished his son to visit a diplomatic congress, and see with what little wisdom the world was governed; had he brought the young man to Ireland, he might have shown him a country in which every principle of the government was based on palpable folly. No matter what was the religion, no matter what the politics of the party that gained an ascendancy, its administration was equally compounded of injustice and absurdity, and bequeathed a heritage of sufferings and blunders to posterity.

The rebellion of Tyrone was the last of a series of civil wars which exhausted the finances of England, desolated the whole face of Ireland, exposed both countries to the peril of foreign invasion, embittered the whole of Elizabeth's life, and disturbed her with anxious thought on the bed of death. Fortunately for truth, but unfortunately for the country; subsequent insurrections, wars, and rebellions, have so far engrossed

the attention of Irish party-writers, that the reign of Elizabeth is an almost untrodden field, at least by recent historians; and we may, therefore, hope to be allowed the privilege of discussion and examination, without provoking the pugnacious propensities associated with more recent events.

The first great misfortune of Ireland, next to the Anglo-Norman invasion, was the incompleteness of the conquest; the wars with France, the Crusades, the feuds between the English Kings and the barons, and the struggle between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, prevented the Plantagenets from securing the country which the generosity of the Pope had bestowed upon Henry II. Left to themselves the Anglo-Norman barons engaged in wars with each other and with the native Irish; they paid only a nominal obedience to the sovereign, and they exerted themselves strenuously to prevent the establishment of the royal authority and, consequently, of the empire of law. Whatever may have been the condition of civilization in Ireland before the age of Strongbow, there can be no doubt that at the accession of Henry VII. it had become the most barbarous country in Europe. No rays of that illumination which sprang from the revival of letters beamed on Ireland; there had been no Huss, no Wycliffe to awaken intelligence by appealing to the conscience; religion continued

to be an unreasoning acquiescence in whatever the clergy asserted, and policy was

> The good old rule, the simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can.

Henry VII. was compelled to pay more attention to Irish politics than his predecessors; the Anglo-Normans in Ireland were partisans of the House of York, and they regarded the Tudor as a usurper; they supported Lambert Simnel, and when his imposture was detected, they took up arms for Perkin Warbeck. The King was well aware that his title to the crown was far from being a good one, and he could not, therefore, allow the Irish nobility to maintain a position which would enable them to give efficient support to every rival claimant; he, therefore, resolved to break down the power of the Anglo-Norman barons and, at the same time, deprive the Irish Princes of an independence which was unprofitable to themselves and pernicious to the country. Henry VIII, pursued the same plan, adding to it a design which for two centuries became the main object in the English government in relation to Ireland, namely the creation of an English interest in that country by grants of land to English settlers. The changes of property during the wars of the Roses, the progress of commercial wealth, the rapid increase of the population in England, and the spirit of enterprize generated

by the discovery of America, combined to throw forth from the bosom of society a multitude of daring and needy adventurers, accustomed to bold speculations and prepared for desperate attempts. To these men, the state of Ireland promised a rich harvest, they crowded thither in the hopes of fighting their way to title and estate. It was natural that these adventurers should be viewed with partiality by the government and with bitter hostility both by the natives and the descendants of the early settlers. They were sure to be zealous supporters of the royal authority, because the maintenance of it was essential to their safety, and the extension of it favourable to their projects, while the Irish regarded them as robbers, and the Anglo-Normans as intruders.

It has been the fashion to describe all Irish insurrections and rebellions as Religious Wars; there never was a religious war in the country; from the age of the Reformation down to the present day, every insurrection, rebellion and civil war, has been a mere struggle for the possession of land, and the name of religion has only been used to exasperate passion and excuse cruelty on one side and the other. Queen Mary of sanguinary memory was as bent on the plantation of Irish lands with English colonists as her sister Elizabeth; Charles II, a Romanist in secret, and James II, avowedly such a partisan of the mass

that he was deemed "a better papist than the Pope" were as firmly resolved to maintain an English ascendancy, even though it were a Protestant one as the Prince of Orange, or the House of Hanover.

The policy of the Tudors in England was to break down the power of the old feudal aristocracy by creating a new nobility and endowing it with estates derived from various forfeitures. On more than one occasion we have noticed the jealousies between the old and new families of the English peerage in the reign of Elizabeth, and have shown that this hostility was represented as based on religion, simply because most of the old families adhered to the old faith. But, in fact, the question of the Reformation only became identified with this political struggle by the facilities which the forfeiture of ecclesiastical lands afforded for the endowment of new families. In England the Tudors had the materials for creating a new nobility; there was a class of gentry, possessing rank, talent and education, well qualified to form a counterpoise to the exorbitant power of the ancient barons. In Ireland, there were no such materials; they had to be sent over from England, and thus the crown was almost necessarily driven to a course of confiscation and colonization.

It was a sad calamity that this great political

revolution was attempted at the time of a mighty religious change. Ireland was wholly unprepared for the Reformation; indeed it had been long the policy of the English government to make the Papacy more influential in that country than in any other part of Europe. The English claim to the Island was founded on a papal grant, and, therefore, the Pope's authority in the disposal of nations and their allegiance was zealously maintained in Ireland even by those monarchs who were least disposed to allow the Vatican any sway in England. The clergy had been the only body to which the Plantagenets could trust as a counterpoise to the aristocracy, and thus the monarchs had invested the Church with exorbitant power, and were continuing to extend its resources up to the very moment when they were to commence a struggle for its overthrow. The very proposal to deny the supremacy of the Pope was virtually a renunciation of the monarch's claim to Irish allegiance: Henry VIII. felt it to be so, and he exhibited far more prudence and moderation in his dealings with the Irish church, than he displayed in England. Several of the native Princes took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy without any scruple, and had the King gratified them, or the junior branches of their family, with a share of the lands of the Church, it is very probable that he would have found them as eager

supporters of his supremacy as any of the Protestant nobility of England.

If we bear in mind that the English government had to complete the subjection of the native Irish, to destroy the usurped power of the Anglo-Norman barons, to subvert the Papal authority, preserving all the claims derived from that source, to establish English settlements, to diffuse the English system of civilization, and to destroy the ancient usages of the natives, we shall have no need of lengthened dissertation to prove that such a complication of projects was beset with difficulties on every side, and sure to encounter a fierce resistance. It must not, however, be supposed that such resistance on the part of the native Irish could be justly called rebellion; the Irish princes had been treated by the English monarchs sometimes as feudatory and sometimes as independent sovereigns; their royal titles had been recognised by formal treaties, and they were considered as allies rather than vassals when they gave assistance in war. The Tudors were more jealous of the great Anglo-Norman families, particularly the Geraldines of Kildare and Desmond, than they were of the native Irish; and their greatest efforts were directed against these potent families. In another place, we shall have occasion to examine the policy pursued towards the descendants of the companions of Strongbow, at present our attention must be confined to the

measures taken for the subjugation of the native Irish princes, and for bringing them to adopt the new views of allegiance and supremacy proposed by Henry VIII.

The new policy for the government of Ireland was developed in a series of statutes passed in the Irish parliament, which met at Kilkenny, in May, 1537, and was, subsequently, adjourned to Cashel, Limerick, and Dublin. It will be necessary to recite the chief heads of the principal statutes passed by this migratory body of legislators. "Ireland was declared an appendage of the crown of England, Queen Catherine's marriage pronounced null, and that of Anne Boleyn valid; the King's supremacy over the church was asserted; affirmation of the Papal authority or jurisdiction was declared a *præmunire*, and the law of forfeiture of estates in case of treason ratified. A refusal to take the oath of supremacy to the King was declared treason. Penalties were denounced against those who observed the Irish fashion of shaving above the ears, wearing hair on the upper lip, using linen died in saffron, wearing mantles, coats or hoods in the Irish fashion; and it was further enacted that women should not use more than seven yards of linen in their shifts, and that they should not wear kirtles or coats tucked up, embroidered, or trimmed with usker. Benefices were not to be given to any that could not speak English, unless a person so qualified should

not be found after four proclamations in the next market-town; if an Irishman should then be admitted to a benefice, it was ordered that he should take an oath to do his utmost endeavour to learn the English language; there were added several judicious regulations for diffusing the knowledge of the English language and the observance of English customs."

These laws were passed without much opposition, and yet the Reformation was but little advanced. George Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, wrote to Lord Cromwell, Wolsey's successor in the favour of Henry, a very important letter, in which he states some of the difficulties which impeded its progress at the commencement. It deserves to be mentioned that Brown had been provincial of the Augustinian friars in England, for few historians have noted that most of the Augustinians in Europe sided with Luther against the Pope, regarding the great Reformer as the champion of their order. Brown's letter, dated April 8th, 1538, is as follows:—

"RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,

"I acknowledge my bounden duty to your Lordship's good will to me, next to my Saviour Christ's, for the place I now possess; I pray God to give me his grace to execute the same to his glory, and his Highness's honour with your Lordship's instructions. The people of this nation be

zealous, yet blind and unknowing; most of the clergy, as your Lordship hath had from me before, being ignorant, and not able to speak right words in the Mass or Liturgy; as being not skilled in the Latin grammar, *so that a bird may be taught to speak with as much sense as several of them do in this country;* these sorts, though not scholars, yet crafty to cozen the common people, and to dissuade them from following his Highness's orders; George, my brother, of Armagh, doth, underhand, occasion quarrels, and is not active to execute his Highness's orders in his diocese.

"I have observed your Lordship's letter of commission, and do find several of my pupils leave me for so doing; I will not put others in their livings, till I do know your Lordship's pleasure, for it is meet I acquaint you first. The Romish reliques and images of both my cathedrals in Dublin took off the common people from the true worship; but the Prior and the Dean find them so sweet for their gain, that they heed not my words; therefore, send in your Lordship's next to me an order more full, and a chide to them and their canons, that they might be removed. Let the order be that the chief Governor may assist me in it. The Prior and Dean have written to Rome to be encouraged; and if it be not hindered before they have a mandate from the Bishop of Rome, the people will be bold, and

then tug long before his Highness can submit them to his Grace's orders. The country-folk here much hate your Lordship, and call you despitefully in their Irish tongue *The Blacksmith's son.*

"The Duke of Norfolk is by Armagh and the clergy desired to assist them not to suffer his Highness to alter church-rule here in Ireland. As a friend, I desire your Lordship to look to your noble person, for Rome hath a great kindness for that Duke, for it is so talked here, and will reward him and his children. Rome hath great favours for this nation purposely to oppose his Highness, and so have got, since the Act passed, great indulgences for rebellion; therefore, my hopes are lost, yet my zeal is to do according to your Lordship's orders. God keep your Lordship from your enemies here and in England."

The O'Neills were the most illustrious and powerful of the Irish families; they had long despised the Anglo-Normans as intruders and upstarts, so that it was considered a remarkable condescension when they contracted matrimonial alliances with the Geraldines. In the reign of Henry VIII, the head of this family, or, as he was called, THE O'NEILL, was Con, surnamed *Boccagh*, or the Lame; at first he was a determined opponent of the royal power; he denounced a curse on his posterity if they should

learn English, sow corn, or build houses; in 1538, he took up arms against the English of the Pale, but was defeated with some loss. Being soon after abandoned by his confederates, he resolved to make his submission to the King in person; he went over to England for the purpose, surrendered all his lands, and received them back by patent. He also resigned the title of the O'Neill, and was created Earl of Tyrone, with remainder to his son, Matthew, and was sworn a member of the privy council. There was a mischievous act of injustice committed in this transaction, of which, probably, the King was not aware; Matthew, who had been created Baron Dungannon, and recognized as heir to his father's title and estate, was an illegitimate son, and had been reputed the child of a blacksmith named O'Kelly, until at the age of fifteen he was recognised by Con Boccagh, and preferred to his lawful heir, Shane O'Neill. Shane, or John, as the name is expressed in English, was of course very indignant at being deprived of his inheritance, and he secretly resolved to destroy the arrangement which the King had made.

Con O'Neill, now Earl of Tyrone, remained faithful to his allegiance during the whole of Henry's reign. An effort, indeed, was made by a Papal emissary to induce him to transfer his allegiance to the King of France, provided that the Pope would confer on that prince the

sovereignty. John de Monluc, Bishop of Valence, was engaged in this negotiation; he came over to Ireland, and was received into the house of O'Doherty, an Irish toparch of great influence, where an unlucky accident frustrated his diplomacy. We shall give the story, with some slight modification, in the words of Sir Richard Cox. "The Bishop had a month's mind to O'Doherty's daughter, which two English friars observing, to preserve the damsel's honour, they procured a substitute of meaner quality. This liquorish lady unfortunately met with a small bottle of choice balm, valued at two thousand crowns, which was given to the Bishop by Solyman the Magnificent when he was ambassador in Turkey; she was invited by its odour to try its relish, and, it seems, liked it so well, that she licked it all out; whereat the Bishop grew so outrageous and loud, that he discovered his debauchery, frightened the woman away, and made sport for the Irishmen and his own servants." O'Neill had an interview with the Bishop, but the ridicule excited by his misadventure appears to have prevented any serious treaty.

Shane O'Neill's endeavours to set aside the succession of Matthew were popular in his clan; and the Earl of Tyrone began to show some symptoms of regret for having preferred his illegitimate child to his lawful heir. He had submitted to the act of parliament which declared the

assumption of the title of O'Neill to be treason with great reluctance, and he was not insensible to the reproaches heaped upon him by his sons, his kinsmen, and his retainers for abandoning the dignity of his family, of which he had been accustomed to boast as the most ancient in Christendom. The conduct of the Regency, to which the government was entrusted on the accession of Edward VI, completed the growing alienation of the Earl of Tyrone from the English cause. The O'Moores and O'Connors possessed the lands of Leix and Ofally (now the King's and Queen's counties); they made some incursions on the Lords of the Pale, but were defeated, and invaded in turn. Becoming disheartened, they were persuaded to follow the example of O'Neill, and make a personal submission to the English government; but instead of being received by Edward as their countryman had been by his father, they were thrown into prison, and a large portion of their lands declared forfeit. This imprudent and iniquitous proceeding led Tyrone to listen to the counsels of his legitimate son; Matthew, believing that his life was in danger, appealed to the Lord-deputy, who caused the Earl and his Countess to be treacherously arrested and placed in close prison. The immediate consequence was, that the whole power of the O'Neills was placed in the hands of John; he declared war against Matthew for having brought

such an indignity on his parents; and being joined by a considerable body of Scots from the western islands, he defeated the Baron of Dungannon and the English forces which had been sent to his assistance, with great slaughter.

This war continued during the greater part of Mary's reign. At length Matthew was killed by some of his brother's retainers; the old Earl of Tyrone died of a broken heart, and John assumed the style and title of THE O'NEILL, in defiance of the Act of Parliament and the remonstrances of the government. Matthew's children were taken under the protection of the English, and his son, Hugh, was honoured with particular attention on account of the abilities he displayed in early youth. John O'Neill was not satisfied with the chieftaincy of Tyrone; he claimed the sovereignty of all Ulster, and recommended himself to the favour of his people by affecting the most exalted ideas of the ancient grandeur of his country. 'He attacked all the neighbouring chieftains who refused to pay him homage and tribute. His turbulence and arrogance were represented in such alarming colours to Sir Henry Sydney, the lord-deputy, that he marched with an army to Dundalk, and summoned the chieftain to explain his conduct. John was aware that his appearance in Sydney's quarters would be deemed an abject submission, he, therefore, returned a message full of duty to the Queen,

and respect for her deputy, requesting that Sydney would honour him with a visit, and become the sponsor for his child. "This answer," says Hooker, "was not at the first thought good, nor yet honourable to the Lord-justice so to do. But when it was considered what inconveniences would ensue if his request were denied, it was agreed that the said Lord-justice should condescend unto his request. And, accordinglie, upon the last day of January, 1558, he went unto the said Shane's (John's) house, and there his lordship and Jaques Wingfield were godfathers, and having performed the baptizing of the child, they both had conference of the matter."

Though John O'Neill is represented by the English writers as a man abandoned to brutal excesses, he conducted himself on this occasion with great firmness, composure, and dignity. He stated that by English law he was the lawful heir of his father, in consequence of the illegitimacy of Matthew, and, by Irish law, his claim was still stronger, by the free election of his countrymen, who had chosen him to be their chief, according to immemorial usage, with which the English had never interfered; Sydney and his councillors yielded to the force of this reasoning; it was agreed that all matters in dispute should be referred to the decision of the Queen, and, in the meantime, that there should be per-

fect amity between O'Neill and the local government.

It deserves to be remarked that the name of religion was not mentioned in the negotiations; indeed, as O'Neill's wars had been commenced in the reign of Mary, they could not have originated in hatred of the Reformation; but it is singular that no effort was made to gain over so powerful a chieftain to the support of the royal supremacy, as had been done when his father submitted to Henry VIII. Nor was this the only point in which the prudent policy of Henry was abandoned: he wisely endeavoured to have the people instructed in the English language, as a means of reconciling them to the English church; but Elizabeth's act for establishing the Book of Common Prayer, allowed the ministers to officiate in Latin where English was not understood; and the sapient legislators did not perceive how impossible it must be to introduce a new religion by preachers who knew no Irish among people who knew no English. This absurdity has been perpetuated from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to that of Queen Victoria, and it was not until the year 1841 that any provision was made in the Dublin University for instructing the clergy of the Established Church in the Irish language.

John O'Neill continued to establish his sovereignty over Ulster; he subdued the septs of O'Reilly and O'Donnell, treating the latter with

infamous cruelty; he hanged one of his followers on suspicion of being a spy for the government, and another for degenerating so far from his native customs as to feed on English biscuit. Finally, he erected a fort which he called *Fogh ne Gall*, or, "abomination of the strangers," and acted in all respects as an independent sovereign. The Earl of Sussex at length led an army against him; but, by the interference of the Earl of Kildare, a new accommodation was made, and John agreed to go to England and make his submission to the Queen in person. Camden, in his annals of the year 1562, gives the following singular account of the chieftain's arrival:—"And now came Shane O'Neill out of Ireland to perform the promise he had made a year ago, with a guard of gallo-glasses, armed with hatchets, all bare-headed, their hair flowing in locks on their shoulders, on which were yellow surplices dyed with saffron, or stained with urine, with long sleeves, short coats, and strange jackets, which caused as much staring and gaping among the English people as if they had come from China or America. He was received with much kindness, when, howling and falling down at the Queen's feet, he owned his crime, and received her Majesty's pardon."

Elizabeth dismissed the chieftain with presents and assurances of favour. John returned home, and in his new-born loyalty led an army against

the Hebridean Scots, who were devastating Ulster, and with whom he had himself been in close alliance. But he did not long adhere to this course of policy; according to the Irish historians, he was goaded to revolt by the injustice of the English government, while English writers assert that he was misled by the hope of becoming King of Ulster. The chief cause of his dissatisfaction was the establishment of a garrison in Derry, under the command of Randolph, a brave but imprudent officer. Without actually commencing hostilities, O'Neill appeared in the vicinity of Derry, with a large force. The garrison made a sally, routed the Irish, but lost their commander. This afforded the chieftain a fair subject of complaint; he sent a spirited remonstrance to Sydney, the Lord-deputy, and proposed a conference at Dundalk, for the pacification of the north.

Sydney attended at the time and place proposed; but an incident, which superstition distorted into a miracle, induced O'Neill to break his engagement. The English garrison at Derry had converted the cathedral into a magazine; by some accident, it took fire and exploded, which necessarily caused the evacuation of the town. But the preaching friars and monks reported that St. Columkil, indignant at the profanation of his church, had sent an enormous wolf from the woods with a burning brand in his mouth, which the animal dropped into the midst of the arsenal.

"The friars in Ireland," says Derricke, "are chiefest instruments of Irish disturbance; they are the only spur to prick them onward to rebel against the Queen, procuring the means of their utter destruction, being the head well-spring of all sin and wickedness."

The supposed miracle deprived O'Neill of the last remains of prudence or moderation; he stormed Armagh and burned the cathedral, deeming that it had been polluted by Protestant worship, and thus, for the first time, giving an Irish revolt the aspect of a religious war; he invaded and ravaged Fermanagh, the chieftain of the district having refused him tribute; he sent emissaries to the Irish Lords of Connaught, and to the Earl of Desmond, inviting them to join his cause, and he opened communications with the courts of Rome and Madrid. Sydney, in this crisis, acted with equal promptness and prudence; he induced the Lords of the northern Irish, who had been injured by O'Neill, to adopt the cause of the Crown; he induced Desmond with his followers to join the royal army, and he thus attacked the insurgent lord with the very forces on which he had relied for support in his revolt. Disappointment increased the tyrannical disposition of O'Neill; he became so severe to his followers, that they deserted him in great numbers; so that at length his only chances of safety were either immediate submission, or an alliance with the Scotch

marauders, who still continued in Ulster. He chose the latter course; but the Scots had been previously gained over by an English officer, named Piers; and O'Neill and his followers, having been treacherously received as allies and guests, were massacred at the banquet to which they had been invited. His head was cut off and sent to Sydney, who paid Piers a thousand marks for his services.

Sydney now marched into Ulster, where, by the Queen's authority, he nominated Turlough Lynnough, cousin of the late chieftain, successor to the title of "THE O'NEILL." So little were the laws regarded, that the act prohibiting the assumption of this title was thus openly violated by the Lord-deputy. It is impossible, indeed, to obtain any clear view of these transactions; Turlough, we are told by a contemporary author, was an old man, and fond of peace; but yet we find him frequently represented as an enemy to the English government, and compelled to renew his submission. He certainly waged war on the northern chieftains, who refused to acknowledge his supremacy in Ulster; and would, probably, have revived the claims of his family to independent sovereignty, had he not dreaded that the son of Shane O'Neill, or of Matthew, might be started as a rival against him by the English government.

From the time of Matthew's death, his son,

Hugh, commonly called Baron of Dungannon, had lived chiefly among the English settlers, and had paid more than one visit to the court of Elizabeth, where he gained the favour of the Queen, and, to some extent, of her ministers; but when he returned to his own people in Ulster, he conformed to Irish habits, and gratified their prejudices by taking to wife the daughter of Turlough Lynnough.

The passion for colonization was at its height in England in the years 1571–75; Ulster was said to contain fertile lands, capable of yielding large profits to adventurous settlers, and a valuable rental to the crown, and licences to settle on these lands were sought from the Queen, with little or no regard to the rights of the Irish proprietors. Sir Thomas Smith, secretary to the Queen, obtained a large grant for his natural son; but this first adventure was unfortunate, the young man was killed in a skirmish by one of the O'Neills on whose lands he had seized. It was at this time a recognised principle that a civilised race had a right to seize the lands of barbarians, and expel the original proprietors, as if they had been wild beasts; and as there was no logical definition of barbarism, it was held to be applicable to all possessing a country coveted by their neighbours. Countless pamphlets and state papers exist, in which the propriety of colonizing Ireland with English Protestants is enforced, by showing

that the natives were incurably barbarous and superstitious, and had, consequently, forfeited all the ordinary rights of humanity.

A great scheme for the colonization of Ulster was proposed to Queen Elizabeth by Walter Devereux, recently created Earl of Essex, and was warmly encouraged by the English council. Devereux was a young nobleman of ancient lineage and great personal valour; for his services against the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in the "Rising of the North," he had received the garter and an earldom. He sat as one of the court at the trial of the Duke of Norfolk, and showed a great eagerness to gratify the Queen's rancour against that unhappy nobleman; the influence he thus obtained alarmed the jealousy of Leicester, and he exerted himself to remove Essex to a distance from court, by engaging him in an expedition to Ulster.

William Fitzwilliam was at this time Lord-deputy of Ireland, and was a sanguinary, rapacious, and over-bearing tyrant; the design of establishing a plantation in Ulster seemed to promise him the means of gratifying his avarice; but the grant made to Essex frustrated his hopes, and he resisted the expedition by every means in his power. Leicester, however, was too anxious to remove his rival from the English court, to attend to Fitzwilliam's remonstrances; he persuaded the Queen to consent that Essex should

receive his commission from the Lord-deputy, and act, apparently, under his authority.

Essex mortgaged his English estate for ten thousand pounds, and afterwards sold it outright, to defray the expenses of his Ulster expedition. Fuller remarks, with equal justice and humour, that this was a large price to pay for a bear's skin before it was known how the bear was to be killed. The Earl soon found that his task was very difficult of accomplishment; he landed in Ireland, accompanied by several noblemen and gentlemen, who had joined in the expedition as volunteers; but his commission as governor of Ulster was delayed by Fitzwilliam, and the northern Irish laid aside their private feuds to drive away the intruders; he was harassed by perpetual skirmishes, and he received no convoys of ammunition and provision, as he had expected. His noble associates deserted him one by one, and he had the further mortification of being ordered to march to the aid of the Lord-deputy, who was in danger of being overthrown by the Earl of Desmond. On his return to the north, he attempted to establish himself in Clan-hu-boy; but an act of atrocious perfidy united the whole of the native Irish against him. It is thus related in the annals of the time:—"Anno, 1574. A solemn peace and concord was made between the Earl of Essex and Phelim O'Neill. However, at a feast, wherein the Earl entertained that chief-

tain, and at the end of their good cheer, O'Neill, with his wife, were seized; their friends who attended were put to the sword before their faces. Phelim, together with his wife and brother, were conveyed to Dublin, where they were cut up in quarters. This execution gave universal discontent and horror."

It must not be supposed that such barbarous treachery was peculiar to the Earl of Essex; such acts of cruelty and perfidy were but too common at this period in Ireland; we may instance the slaughter of the Irish on the Rathmore at Mulloghmaston, where they assembled to testify their allegiance, obedient to a proclamation issued by the government; and the massacre of the garrison of Spaniards and Irish at Limerick after a capitulation, because the lord-deputy Grey feared that he could not spare a sufficient detachment to guard the prisoners. In further palliation of Essex's conduct, it might be added that the execution of the massacre of Limerick was entrusted to Sir Walter Raleigh, and that the task of defending the perfidious atrocity was committed to the poet Spenser.

Essex found that his perfidy was ruinous to his project; he fought several battles, but no victory could be decisive over an enemy which found shelter in the bogs and woods, where pursuit was unavailing. He desired leave to conclude a treaty with Turlough O'Neill on honour-

able conditions, but was ordered to continue the war; he then resigned his command in Ulster, but was forced to resume it, and march against Turlough: finally, when everything seemed to promise a complete triumph, he was ordered to make peace, and send in his resignation. It was with difficulty that he obtained permission to retain three hundred men with the title of captain. Indignant at such treatment, Essex hastened to lay his grievances before Elizabeth; but, after a short residence at court, he was persuaded by Leicester to return to Ireland with the sounding title of Earl Marshal, but without any addition to his political power. He died in Dublin, a prey to grief and vexation; we have already mentioned the suspicions which were rife of his having been poisoned by Leicester, and the confirmation they received from the marriage of that nobleman to the Countess of Essex with indecent precipitation; we have only to add, that there were many expectants of Irish forfeitures in Dublin, who would gladly have lent their aid to remove a nobleman likely to obtain too large a share of the coveted plunder.

Hugh O'Neill had been recognised as heir to his father's title; but he was not satisfied to be Baron of Dungannon when he had a legal claim to the Earldom of Tyrone. This, however, could only be obtained from the English government, for the illegitimacy of his father, and, still

more, his conformity to English rule, had alienated the northern Irish from this branch of the O'Neills. He raised a troop of horse for the Queen's service in the Desmond war, and behaved so well that he was rewarded with a pension. It appears, however, that he was thoroughly disgusted by the inhuman rigour of Lord Grey and his officers, of whom it was said that "they left little in Ireland for her Majesty to reign over but ashes and carcases." There is some evidence to show that while Hugh was engaged in the Queen's service he looked upon himself as an object of suspicion to the government, tolerated only because when necessity required he might be set up as a rival to Turlough, or the children of John O'Neill. On the other hand, it is unquestionable that he was looked upon with some jealousy by the English adventurers who had come into Ireland, as one likely to frustrate their hopes of obtaining lands in Ulster.

Before entering into any examination of the circumstances which changed Hugh O'Neill from a faithful servant of Elizabeth into the leader of the most perilous revolt against the English government recorded in the Irish annals, it will be necessary to take a view of the scheme of colonization originally proposed by Elizabeth and the English council, because many writers, both in England and Ireland, have described it as

iniquitous from the very beginning, conceived in the very same spirit of rapacity in which it was executed, and designed to produce the horrible scenes of treachery, robbery, and massacre which were its actual results. How far the colonization of any country, previously inhabited, can be reconciled with the principles of eternal justice, and how far settlers have a right to occupy lands previously possessed by aborigines, whether as farms, commons, or hunting-grounds, are questions which have not even in this age been solved satisfactorily. At the time of Elizabeth, as we have already said, there was no difficulty about the matter. The rights of aborigines were never taken into consideration; if it could once be settled that the actual possessors of a country were barbarians, the right of expelling them was supposed to follow as a matter of course. Now, as it is unfair to judge the actions of men in one age by the knowledge of men in a different age, we must concede that if there was a greater quantity of land in Ireland than the existing population could cultivate, and if the colonization of that land was likely to promote the civilization of Ireland, and the establishment of civil government in that country, then a scheme for plantations might be wise and even praiseworthy, provided it was carried into effect with as little injury as possible to the fair claims of the native proprietors. We have the evidence

of Captain Thomas Lee, one of Elizabeth's commissioners, that such a system of plantation would have been satisfactory to the Irish chieftains, and that they were only driven to oppose it by flagrant breaches of faith on the part of those who administered the Irish government. He says, "The demands I made for your Majesty were these; that they should receive your Majesty's forces into these countries, and your laws to go current as they did in other places, and *some part of their countries to be reserved for your Majesty,* to dispose unto them who should govern them, and they to charge themselves with that proportion that was fit for them to bear.

"*To these demands they all yielded, so that they might have such gentlemen chosen, as they knew would use no treachery nor hard measure towards them,* but to live upon that which your Majesty would allow, and that which they would give of their free consents, and to be no further charged; and they would be as dutiful as any other county in Ireland now is. And how this may be performed, I have made bold with your Majesty's favourable liking here to set down upon my knowledge, both how your Majesty's forces may be received with their consent, and they to yield great profit in discharge of that which your Majesty allows to the soldiers, and the soldiers to be well satisfied.

"The cause they have to stand upon these

terms, and to seek for better assurance, is *the harsh practice used against others* by those who have been placed in authority, to protect men for your Majesty's service, which they have greatly abused and used in this sort.

"They have drawn unto them by protection, three or four hundred of these country-people, under colour to do your Majesty service, and brought them to a place of meeting, where your garrison soldiers were appointed to be, who have there most dishonourably put them all to the sword; and this hath been by the consent and practice of the Lord-deputy for the time being. If this be a good course to draw these savage people to the state, to do your Majesty service, and not rather to enforce them to stand upon their guard, I humbly leave to your Majesty."

Injustice is a very expensive luxury, but it was recognized by many of Elizabeth's statesmen as sound policy. We learn from the letters of Sir Henry Sydney and Sir John Perrot, that the following detestable principles were openly advocated in the Queen's council and in the English parliament. "Should we," said these disciples of Machiavelli, "exert ourselves in reducing Ireland to order and civility, it must soon acquire power, consequence, and riches. The inhabitants will be thus alienated from England; they will cast themselves into the arms of some foreign power, or perhaps erect themselves into an inde-

pendent and separate state. Let us rather connive at their disorders; for a weak and disordered people never can attempt to detach themselves from the crown of England." But this weakness and disorder rendered the possession of the country so costly to England, that, in a lucid interval, a determination was taken to apply some remedy, and Sir John Perrot was sent over as Lord-deputy.

Perrot's administration from 1584 to 1588 was one of those critical periods in a nation's history when confidence long withheld is given to a government, and an opportunity offered for the permanent establishment of tranquillity. Happy is the fate of the country when the golden moments are improved; but miserable is its lot, when the reign of injustice is suddenly resumed, and the bitterness of disappointed hope superadded to national suffering. Perrot was supposed to be a natural son of Henry VIII; he had been long acquainted with Ireland, where he had held the office of President of Munster. Zealously attached to the Protestant religion, he saw that it could not be diffused in Ireland without sending qualified persons to explain it to the people, and he was conscious of the absurdity of punishing persons for adhering to the Romish faith, when no efforts were made to teach them any other. From some passages in his letters, it appears that some of the hungry expectants of

forfeited lands dreaded the conversion of the native Irish to Protestantism, because their adoption of the established faith would have removed the chief pretext for robbing them of their lands; and this is far from improbable, as no efforts were made to send missionaries who could teach them the reformed doctrines. Unlike the governors described by Lee, Perrot was remarkable for his adherence to the conventions which he made with the ancient natives, and hence, whenever he appeared, the chieftains came cheerfully to renew their oaths of allegiance, to surrender their lands, and to receive them again on English tenures. So ready were they to receive English law, that he found no difficulty in making arrangements for dividing the unreformed part of Ulster into seven counties, and appointing sheriffs, coroners, and other necessary officers. Finding that old Turlough Linnough, in spite of his rank as "The O'Neill," was unable to maintain complete authority over the turbulent chieftains of the north, he induced him to share the chief direction of the province with Sir Henry Bagnal, who was Marshal of Ulster and in possession of several large grants, and Hugh O'Neill, who was recognized in his father's right as Baron Dungannon.

The imperfect records of this period render it difficult to determine whether Hugh O'Neill had at this period resolved upon any fixed course of

policy; he appears to have vacillated between the wish for an earl's coronet, with peaceful possession of his estates, and the desire for the semi-regal title of his family, and a desperate struggle for independence. The stain of illegitimacy on his father was a serious impediment to his gaining power amongst the native Irish, and his first course was to seek elevation by means of loyalty. He petitioned parliament to be admitted to the title and place of Earl of Tyrone, in the right of his father, according to the patent of Henry VIII, and also to the inheritance annexed to this earldom. The title was readily granted; but the estates, by the attainder of John O'Neill, were vested in the crown, and he was referred to the Queen's pleasure. Furnished with strong letters of recommendation from Perrot, Tyrone, as we shall call him for the future, went over to England, employed all his powers of obsequiousness and flattery to captivate Elizabeth, and obtained from her the grant of all the estates annexed to the earldom, as they had been held by his reputed grandfather, Con, without any reservation of rent. It was only stipulated that two hundred and forty acres should be reserved, for building a fort on the Blackwater; that a competent provision should be made for the children of John and Turlough O'Neill, and that the latter should continue to be recognised as the Irish chieftain of Ulster. These were honourable conditions, and

had the government kept faith in the arrangements, Ireland would have been saved two centuries of civil war and misery. Scarcely had his patent been sealed, when Tyrone saw symptoms of designs to defeat the intention of the Queen; the English adventurers were indignant at the restoration of such extensive forfeitures, which they had marked as their prey, to a native Irish chief, and several of the Queen's wisest councillors regretted that such an opportunity of making conditions for a complete establishment of English power in Ulster had been neglected. Tyrone himself declared that he felt assured of safety, so long as the government was entrusted to Perrot, but that he could not foresee what course of policy would be adopted by his successor, and that it was, therefore, necessary that he should be prepared for defence.

Perrot's administration was now drawing to a close; he had exerted himself to restrain the injuries and oppressions which the English adventurers had been accustomed to practice on the natives, and these, through their family connections, raised a report that he aimed at acquiring an independent sovereignty by the aid of the Irish; Elizabeth sent him contradictory orders; sometimes, yielding to her natural sense of justice, she commanded him to prevent the English garrisons from making forays to plunder the unoffending peasantry, and shortly after she censured

the measures taken to prevent such exactions. His proposal to dissolve the cathedral of St. Patrick, and apply its revenues to the foundation of a university for training ministers to preach the Reformed religion to the native Irish, procured him the inveterate enmity of Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor of Ireland; and this Prelate found many ready to join with him in describing Popery as the offspring of ignorance, while they denounced every scheme of national education that could at all be regarded as practicable. Even forgery and fraud were employed to disgrace the popular governor; a letter was counterfeited from Turlough Lynnough, complaining of injuries inflicted by the Lord-deputy; but this "ingenious device" was exposed by that chieftain, who sent one of his family to England to disavow the letter, and to bear testimony to the rectitude of Perrot's conduct. It would have been strange if the convenient pretext of "Popery" had been neglected. when a cry was to be raised against a Lord-deputy, whose only crime was administering the Irish government in a spirit of impartial justice; accordingly a second forgery was produced, in the shape of protection granted to a Romish priest, in which Perrot was made to use such expressions as *our* kingdom of Ireland, and *our* castle of Dublin. The conditions on which the forfeited estates in Munster had been granted, remained unfulfilled; Elizabeth's cour-

tiers received the lands; but instead of making the promised plantations, they sub-let the grounds to desperate and unscrupulous adventurers; Perrot complained of the evils which must be expected to arise from absentee proprietors and jobbing middlemen; but the absentees included Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Norris, and others, who were personal favourites of the sovereign, and who represented complaints against their negligence as imputations on the wisdom of Elizabeth's arrangements.

Perrot, though a prudent statesman, had the great fault of an irritable temper; when annoyed by the contradictory orders of the Queen, and the determination to thwart his measures evinced by her council, he sometimes spoke disrespectfully of Elizabeth and her "dancing Chancellor," as he irreverently described Hatton; these indiscreet expressions were reported with exaggerations by Fenton, the Irish Secretary of State, who was employed as a spy on the deputy. In fact, the only part of the Lord-deputy's administration which received approbation, was the single act of treachery which he committed in the course of his government. This blot on Perrot's character was the seizure of the heir of O'Donnell, the powerful chieftain of Tyrconnell, who had excited the suspicions of the government, by refusing to admit an English sheriff into his country.

At Perrot's instigation, a ship was laden in Dublin with Spanish wines, and sent to Donegal, in O'Donnell's country, as if to dispose of her cargo. The heir of O'Donnell was invited on board to taste the wines; a rich entertainment was prepared by the Captain, but in the midst of the festivity the guests were informed that they were captives, and that the vessel was under weigh to convey them to Dublin. Resistance was useless; they were brought to the Lord-deputy, and young O'Donnell was kept in chains as a hostage for the fidelity of his father.

Perrot had eagerly solicited to be recalled; "I can please your Majesty's Irish subjects," said he, "better than the English, who, I fear, will shortly learn the Irish customs sooner than the Jews did those of the Heathens. My soul is a witness to my Saviour, this is truth which your true and faithful servant speaketh. I am weary of my place, but never to serve your highness." Not satisfied with the removal of Perrot, the Queen appointed Sir William Fitzwilliam his successor, who came over with the avowed determination to make the task of governing the country subservient to his own views of private emolument. A weeping crowd accompanied Perrot to the water-side; and conspicuous amidst the multitude was the figure of old Turlough Lynnough, bathed in tears. Well might they weep, for with Perrot

departed the last chance of establishing peace and prosperity in Ireland for several generations.*

The English government was not the only power which adopted a course of mischievous and blundering policy towards Ireland; the Romish Church and the Spanish court vied with each other in displaying the absurdities of short-sighted selfishness; fomenting insurrections to serve their own purposes, and abandoning the insurgents as soon as they were committed to rebellion. While some historians attribute Irish insurrections exclusively to Papal intrigues, others deny the interference of Papal emissaries altogether; both agree in discarding all consideration of facts, except such as can be distorted to gratify the prejudices of party. It is, therefore, necessary to develop very briefly the real policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland at this crisis, and show that it was to the full as heartless and as palpably absurd as that adopted by the majority of Elizabeth's Lords-deputy.

The Popes had never forgotten that the lordship of Ireland had been their gift to the sovereigns of England. When Henry VIII. assumed the title of King, instead of Lord of

* After his return to England, Perrot was indicted and convicted of high treason, on such unworthy evidence, that Elizabeth could not, for very shame, allow the sentence to be executed; but the indignity broke his proud heart, and he died in prison.

Ireland, the Pope protested against the usurpation; and Mary, after her accession, acknowledged the Papal claim to the island, by praying for a confirmation of her royal title, and receiving a bull sealed with the ring of the mystical fisherman, by which she was elevated to the dignity of Queen of Ireland. The contest in Ireland was between native proprietors and colonizing foreigners; it was the interest of the Popes, after the accession of Elizabeth, to change the nature of the strife into one of churches instead of races, and they did not see that this change gave an immense advantage to the supporters of the Protestant ascendancy, by assuring them of the sympathies of England. It was the great object of the Romish court to gain an opportunity of disposing of Ireland a second time; and hence, in every Irish insurrection, we find present an intractable Papal party, opposed to every assertion of independence, and afraid of a victory which might render the insurgents sufficiently strong to dispense with foreign aid. Gregory XIII. actually nominated his natural son King of Ireland, and the disunion which this act of power produced among the followers of Desmond, was one of the causes which accelerated the ruin of the unfortunate earl. The Roman Catholics of Ireland deem themselves aggrieved by the stupid vulgarity of those who stigmatize them indiscriminately with

the name of "Papists," because they know, that to the party properly called Papists, their failure in almost every struggle they have made may justly be attributed.

While the Popes made religion a pretext for endeavouring to bring Ireland under their temporal dominion, the King of Spain fostered insurrections in that country chiefly to prevent Elizabeth from sending aid to his own revolted subjects in Holland. He looked upon the Irish as rebels, and, in all human probability, would have treated them as such, had he been able to establish his dominion in the country; but they were convenient tools for annoying Elizabeth, and diverting her attention from the wars in France and Flanders; as such he used them, and as such he laid them aside when they were of no further service.

Perrot left Ireland a little before the appearance of the Invincible Armada, the most stupendous blunder of its age. A hunter-out of historical parallels would find countless resemblances between the case of Spain and Ireland at the close of the sixteenth, and that of France and Ireland at the end of the eighteenth century. In both cases, the foreign allies had not a particle of love for the Irish themselves, but were animated only by hatred of England; in both instances, these allies were suspected by and suspicious of those who had invited them; and

in both instances, the miserable armaments sent to support the insurgents were too insignificant to produce any effect on the final result of the war, were landed in a remote part of the country where their services would be of least avail, and were never found to act in concert with those they came to assist. There were English blunders of provocation, Irish blunders of resistance, and foreign blunders of aid, all uniting in one object — the infliction of unnecessary and wasting injury.

The readers of Tone's Memoirs will remember that many of the French statesmen expected greater advantages from an immediate invasion of England, than could be obtained from commencing with Ireland. It is not generally known that a similar error was committed in the direction of the Armada. Strada informs us, that Stanley, an English refugee at Madrid, earnestly recommended King Philip to send the armament to the south of Ireland in the first instance, and occupy the port of Ireland, or Cork, as a place of rendezvous, and a shelter in case of unfavourable weather. Had this advice been followed, the Armada would, in all human probability, have deserved its name of Invincible. The Cove of Cork, or the Bay of Waterford would have been taken without opposition, and either, but especially the former, might, in a few days, have been fortified so as to defy the

handful of troops at the command of the Lord-deputy, to say nothing of the chance of an insurrection, which at the moment could scarcely have failed of being successful.

After the dispersion and ruin of the Armada, seventeen ships, which had formed part of that expedition, were shipwrecked on the northern and north-western coasts of Ireland. A report was spread that vast treasures and stores had been saved from these ships, and secreted by different chieftains. Deceived by these vague rumours, Fitzwilliam marched with the English army into Ulster, though it was the depth of winter, made a most rigorous search, and found nothing. Irritated by his disappointment, he seized upon two chieftains who had shown the most unflinching loyalty to the government, and sent them close prisoners to the castle of Dublin. Tyrone, justly alarmed, hasted to make a second visit to England; he was at first placed under restraint, for having come over without the permission of the Deputy; but, having obtained an audience, he produced such an impression on Elizabeth, that all his former patents were confirmed. Sir Christopher Hatton and the Earl of Ormond became sureties for his allegiance, and the protection of the latter ensured him a considerable share of the royal favour. Hugh O'Neill, the natural son of John, surnamed Ne-Gavelocke, or "the fettered," followed Tyrone

to England, and accused him of treasonable negotiations with the Spaniards who had been shipwrecked on the coast of Ireland; but the absurdity of the charge was so glaring, that the accuser was dismissed with contempt.

Fitzwilliam never forgave Tyrone for this direct appeal to the Queen, and the Earl was well aware that he had incurred the implacable enmity of the Lord-Deputy. An atrocious act of treachery and tyranny increased his suspicions of Fitzwilliam. Mac Mahon, the chieftain of Monaghan, had surrendered his land held by tanistry to the Queen, and received a re-grant thereof to him and his heirs male, with remainder to his brother Hugh. On the death of the chief, Hugh sought to be admitted to his inheritance, and was obliged to give a bribe of six hundred cows, in order to facilitate his suit. Having received this reward, Fitzwilliam went to Monaghan to give the Mac Mahon possession; but, instead of doing so, he seized him on the charge of having employed an armed force to distrain for rent two years before. A jury of common soldiers was hastily impanelled, Mac Mahon was, of course, convicted and executed within two days; his broad lands were confiscated, and divided between Sir Henry Bagnal and other adventurers who were able to purchase the patronage of the viceroy.

The alarm produced amongst the northern Irish

by this act of perfidy and cruelty was extreme. The chiefs combined in a refusal to admit sheriffs and officers of justice into their respective counties; one of them, when the demand was made, inquired the price of a sheriff's head, or his "*erick*," that in case of accident he might be prepared to levy it on his people. Tyrone to strengthen himself gave his daughter in marriage to the young chief of Tyrconnel, who had escaped from the castle of Dublin; and, about the same time, having gained possession of the person of Hugh Ne Gavelocke, he brought him to a hasty trial, and sentenced him to die by the hand of the executioner. It is recorded that, in consequence of the reverence paid to the name of O'Neill, no one could be found to execute the sentence, until Tyrone obtained the services of a stranger from a distant county.

This presumptuous act of violence offended the Queen, and she was not less indignant at another part of the Earl's conduct, which was probably intended to give her pleasure. Tyrone divorced his Irish wife, and married the sister of his great rival in Ulster, Sir Henry Bagnal. The divorce appears to have been a very irregular proceeding, and Bagnal asserted that either force or fraud had been employed to gain the affections of his sister. Tyrone's demand of the lady's fortune was an aggravation of his offence; Sir Henry became the most bitter enemy of the Earl, and neglected

no artifice which might lead to his destruction. The controversy respecting this marriage is curious, from there being no reference made to the lady herself. Lee insinuates, indeed, that she offered herself to Tyrone; but he speaks from the information supplied by the Earl; Bagnal persisted that she had never given free consent; but though he retained her fortune, he never intimated a wish that she should be returned on his hands. The Earl requested the Lords of the Council to prevail on Bagnal to be reconciled to him, that they might live as kinsmen and neighbours, and concur amicably in the service of government; but no attention appears to have been paid to a request which savoured strongly of insincerity.

Fitzwilliam's administration had completely destroyed all confidence between the rulers and the ruled; he complained that a dangerous spirit of disaffection was spreading among the native Irish; they retorted that the outrages perpetrated by the Lord-deputy and his creatures compelled them to adopt precautionary measures for self-protection. The sheriff who had been sent into Fermanagh openly plundered the inhabitants, and proceeded to such excesses, that Macguire, the chief of the district, rose up in arms, and was on the point of cutting off the sheriff and all his attendants, when Tyrone interposed and induced his countrymen to allow them a peaceable departure. It was at

this crisis that Lee wrote the letter to Elizabeth, which we have more than once quoted; it enumerates Tyrone's services to the Crown, states glaring instances of Bagnal's iniquitous misrepresentations, and of the gross injustice with which Fitzwilliam treated the native Irish. It has been suggested, and probably with truth, that Lee wrote this letter at the instigation, and, perhaps, under the dictation of Tyrone; and that, therefore, its statements must be received with caution; but every fact which he urges against Fitzwilliam and Bagnal is amply confirmed by the unsuspicious testimony of Moryson, the secretary to Lord Montjoy, all whose prejudices were adverse to the Irish; and Tyrone gave the strongest confirmation of the sincerity of his protestations of loyalty by serving under Bagnal against the insurgent Macguire. In this petty warfare Tyrone received a severe wound in the thigh, but still found himself exposed to suspicion.

There is no proof that Tyrone had, at this period, lent an ear to the emissaries of Rome; Lee informs us, that when the Earl visited Dublin, he used to accompany the Lord-deputy to church, and "stay to hear service and sermon;" he adds, "he had only one little cub of an English priest, by whom he is seduced for want of his friend's access unto him, who might otherwise uphold him." The fact appears to have been, that Tyrone was not strongly attached to any religion, but was,

like many of his contemporaries, ready to embrace any creed which would suit his purpose; hence, when he introduced the subject of religion at his conference with the Earl of Essex, the latter cut him short, saying, "Thou talkest about religion! thou hast as much religion as my horse!"

After his return from Fermanagh, Tyrone found himself in a most perplexing situation; he learned that Bagnal's malignant charges had been faithfully transmitted to England, whilst his reply had been suppressed by the Lord-deputy; from every quarter he received intelligence of Fitzwilliam's threats, and of the preparations made to deprive him of rank and fortune; while, on the other hand, his services to the English government had deprived him of the affections of his countrymen, who threatened to set up the heirs of John O'Neill against him. At this crisis, Turlough Lynnough died, the title of THE O'NEILL was thus vacated, and the Earl knew that he must either assume it himself, or allow it to be usurped by some rival, who would thus secure the affections of the native Irish. He did not hesitate; having contrived to secure and imprison the sons of John O'Neill, he then openly took the forbidden designation; but, at the same time, he wrote to the government, asserting that he had assumed the chieftaincy merely to prevent its falling into the hands of persons less favourably disposed towards the English government than himself, and

that he was ready to resign it whenever a regular course of law should be established in his territory.

Sir John Russell having succeeded Fitzwilliam as Lord-deputy, Tyrone immediately presented himself to the new governor, complaining of the wrongs he had sustained, and making the most passionate declarations of his submission and devotion to the Queen. There can be very little doubt that he was sincerely anxious to be reconciled to the government, and secured in his title and estates; he knew too well the hazard of rebellion, and the little confidence that was to be placed in promises of foreign aid, to enter on the dangerous paths of treason so long as they could be avoided; but, at the same time, he had made up his mind not to resign his life and property without a struggle. Bagnal, on the other hand, repeated his charges against the Earl; the propriety of arresting him was discussed in the Council; Tyrone, secretly warned of his danger by Lord Ormond, made a hasty retreat to his own country, while Elizabeth's ministers sharply rebuked Russell for not having secured so dangerous a person.

But in the meantime O'Donnell, the young chief of Tyrconnell, who had never forgotten the circumstances of his treacherous capture and severe imprisonment, took up arms to expel the English from Ulster, and was joined by the great

majority of the Irish chieftains, who were wearied out by the exactions and oppressions of the soldiers in the northern garrisons. Tyrone was believed to be the secret spring of all these commotions although he did not appear openly in the field. His countess died of a broken heart, produced by her sense of her brother's unkindness, and this aggravated the enmity between Tyrone and Bagnal. Elizabeth, seriously alarmed, sent Sir John Norris with three thousand veteran troops to quell the disturbances in Ulster; but Tyrone, before their arrival, had availed himself of the pretext of injuries from the garrison to expel the English from the fort of Blackwater, while, at the same time, he wrote to the new general, imputing his conduct to necessity, declaring that he was driven into rebellion by rigorous and unremitting persecution. His letter was intercepted and suppressed by Bagnal. Hostilities were continued, and in several skirmishes Tyrone displayed a courage and address which won the respect of Norris. He was once unhorsed by Sedgrave an English officer; the Earl in falling seized his adversary, dragged him to the ground, and, though undermost in the struggle, contrived to draw his dagger and avert a blow that was aimed at him by plunging it into Sedgrave's body. The protraction of the war wearied Elizabeth, she sent over a commission to arrange terms of accommodation, but neither party would trust the

other; the Irish chieftains peremptorily refused to admit sheriffs and garrisons, the English commissioners insisted on security for the observance of allegiance. A hasty peace was concluded, in which all the points in dispute were left unsettled, and Tyrone gave some proof of the sincerity of his submission by transmitting to the deputy and council the letters which had been addressed to him from Spain. He did not, however, desist from warlike preparations, and when the English commissioners remonstrated, he replied, with some show of justice, that though he had every confidence in Norris, he did not know how far he could trust his successor.

His distrust was soon proved to be well founded, Elizabeth and her ministers had been grievously disappointed, that a general of such high reputation as Sir John Norris, at the head of one of the finest armaments ever sent to Ireland, had failed to gain any signal advantage over the barbarous Irish. At the instigation of the Earl of Essex, who was a personal enemy of Norris, the command of the army was abruptly transferred to Lord Burgh, a partisan of Essex, and Norris sent to Munster, where grief so preyed on his high spirit, that he died within two months.

Lord Burgh renewed the war against Tyrone, but suffered sharp defeats, and died in a vain attempt to penetrate the defiles of Ulster. Ormond succeeded to the command, and concluded a truce

with the insurgents. This was soon broken, each party accusing the other of perfidy, both being probably guilty; and Tyrone, though deserted by his brother and his natural son, prepared to renew the war with fresh vigour. After some indecisive skirmishing he laid seige to the fort of Blackwater, which the English had repaired. Bagnal was entrusted with the command of the army appointed to raise the siege. A desperate battle ensued, the soldiers seeming to share in the personal rancour of their leaders, but in the heat of the engagement an accidental explosion of powder threw the royalists into confusion, which the fall of their leader rendered irremediable; they fled in confusion, leaving fifteen hundred dead on the field, and the slaughter would have been greater but for the valour of a loyal Irish chieftain, O'Reilly, who lost his life in covering their retreat. The vanquished abandoned their fort of Blackwater, fled to Armagh and thence farther southward, abandoning to Tyrone their artillery, ammunition, provision, thirty-four standards, and other honours of war.

The effect of this victory was decisive; the Irish and the degenerate English, as the descendants of the early settlers were called, rose in every part of the country, and Elizabeth, in a few days, was recognised only in the few towns which had been secured by garrisons. Had a Spanish force appeared, or had the insurgents been supplied

with arms and ammunition, Ireland must have been separated from England; even in the absence of both the English ministers felt that they had to make preparations for the re-conquest of the country. Tyrone appears to have been so intoxicated with success as to aspire to royalty; for the first time he proclaimed himself at Rome, declaring that he was in arms "in maintenance of liberty, and the Catholic faith." It was at this crisis that Walsingham deemed it no treason to wish that Ireland and all belonging to it were sunk in the bottom of the sea.

An army of twenty thousand men was raised in England, and placed under the command of the Earl of Essex, whose vanity induced him to play the game of his enemies, and quit the court for a distant expedition. They knew well that his pride and intemperance would lead him to provoke his jealous and imperious sovereign, while his personal favour, weakened by absence, would not be able to counteract his offence. With all the craft for which the Cecils were distinguished they flattered their dupe by investing him with larger powers than had ever before been entrusted to a Lord-deputy; they declared that everything should be placed at Essex's discretion, being well aware that this was a quality in which the young Earl was absolutely deficient. His very first act was to appoint his friend, Southampton, master of the Horse, contrary to the Queen's express direc-

tions, whom this young nobleman had displeased by marrying without her permission; his next was to alter the entire plan of the campaign which he had himself recommended, and instead of marching against Tyrone to lead his army into Munster, which, though in open revolt, had no regular force in the field. His progress was harassed by guerilla attacks; on one occasion the O'Moores assailed his rear in a defile, and slew so many of the young officers and volunteers who had joined the expedition as a party of pleasure that the place of action was called the Pass of Plumes, from the quantity of feathers which these gay soldiers left behind in their flight. The O'Byrnes had greater success against another detachment which they cut to pieces, and Essex, in the bitterness of disappointment, severely punished his own officers and soldiers, to whose negligence he attributed every failure. He wrote to England in a desponding tone, soliciting fresh reinforcements; they were sent, but they were accompanied with a sharp reprimand, which his former presumptuous boasts had richly earned, but which, nevertheless, was very mortifying to his haughty spirit. At length he advanced into Ulster, but Tyrone who knew the character of the person with whom he had to deal, proposed that he should be admitted to a conference, and permitted to state the grievances which had driven him to rebellion. Lee, the author of the letter to which we have more than

once referred, had been intimate with Tyrone and was a favourite with Essex. He was busily employed during the night preceding the conference in passing between the two camps, and holding secret interviews between the two generals. On the following morning, while Essex drew up proudly on the bank of the river which divided the two armies, Tyrone plunged up to his saddle in the water as if impatient to throw himself at the feet of so great a man. The two Earls had a long private conference, which resulted in their agreeing upon a truce for six weeks, to be renewed from time to time, unless fourteen days' notice was given. While this armistice was under discussion, Essex received a letter from Elizabeth enlarging on his misconduct of the war, in such stately terms of indignation and resentment, as suited an offended sovereign. Every word pierced deep into his heart; he attributed her reproaches to the insidious arts of his enemies, and formed a plan for marching upon London with the flower of his army to take vengeance. Part of the plan was abandoned; he returned to England alone, and, as we shall subsequently relate, was soon entrapped into high treason.

Tyrone's triumph over Essex attracted the attention of Christendom to the Irish contest; some supplies of money and ammunition were sent to him from Spain, under the charge of Oviedo, an ecclesiastic, on whom the Pope had conferred the title of Archbishop of Dublin; and, as a mark of

personal honour, the Pontiff sent a hallowed plume to the insurgent Earl, which his holiness gravely asserted was formed from the feathers of a phœnix. Tyrone now called his countrymen to arms in the name of religion, and issued a manifesto which dwelt rather more strongly on the duty of defending the faith than on the necessity of securing freedom. His conduct, however, was not very consistent with his words; he saw clearly that the intentions of the Pope and the King of Spain aimed not at the establishment of Irish independence, but at the transfer of the government to a new foreign power; in spite of all his efforts, he could not hide his jealousy of sacerdotal interference; and the ardour of the priesthood in his cause was sensibly abated, when it plainly appeared that he was not at all likely to consent to the absolute supremacy of the Church, or to allow the Pope to bestow the crown of Ireland at his pleasure.

The Lords of English descent who had engaged to support O'Neill, were alarmed at their own success. Whether Ireland was to become an independent kingdom under the O'Neill, or whether it was to be annexed to the Spanish monarchy, the revolution threatened equal ruin to their power and interests. Centuries had not effaced the hostility of race between the Anglo-Norman settlers and the inhabitants of the island. "I hate the Saxon churl as if he only came yes-

terday," was the answer of an Irish chieftain when warned that the noble, whose lands he was about to invade, belonged to a family which had been long settled in the country. On the other hand, it was notorious that the Lords of the Pale looked upon the Irish as enemies; when they had before stood together in the field, and won a victory, Lord Gourmanstown declared to the Earl of Kildare, our triumph will not be complete until we cut the throats of our Irish allies. These feelings were manifested by the reluctance of the Lords of the Pale to send their promised contingents to Tyrone, but they were still more clearly shown by the Romish priests of English descent, who publicly declared that it was lawful for Catholic subjects to bear arms against their brethren, in defence of a heretical sovereign.

While the priesthood and the Anglo-Irish aristocracy gradually separated themselves from Tyrone, he was far from receiving the unanimous support of the native Irish themselves. The taint of illegitimacy on his father's birth was not forgotten, nor were his severities to the sons of John O'Neill forgiven. The Irish chieftains had consented to receive him as an equal, though his title, according to the laws of tanistry, was very questionable; but they would not consent to submit to him as a superior. In consequence of these varied views and feelings, the moment of O'Neill's greatest triumph was also that of his

greatest weakness; for when his followers were all but assured of success, they began, for the first time, to speculate on the results of victory.

It is said that when republican principles had so spread among the Presbyterians of Ulster, in 1797, that they were on the point of taking up arms; a minister of that persuasion brought his congregation back to their allegiance, by preaching a sermon on the text "What will ye do in the end thereof?" If conspirators asked each other this question, we should find fewer records of rebellions in history. Tyrone and his partisans had taken up arms on the justifiable ground of protecting their freedom and the inheritance of their fathers; but they had each separate objects beyond the attainment of this common good; and these objects, if secured, would probably have produced as much evil as the system they intended to remove.

It would have been possible at this crisis to have established the tranquillity of Ireland on an equitable and secure footing, if common sense or common honesty could be found either in the government or in the insurgents. Unfortunately, there was not a party willing to trust another, or deserving to be trusted by it. Elizabeth hated Tyrone with a personal rancour, which made her blind to political consequences. "I present, as a known observation," says Naunton, "that she was, though very capable of council, absolute enough in her

own resolutions, which was ever apparent even to her last, in her aversion to grant Tyrone the least drop of her mercy, though earnestly and frequently advised; yea, wrought only by the whole council of state, with very many pressing reasons, and as the state of her kingdom then stood (I may speak it with assurance) necessitated arguments."

It was at this crisis that the government of Ireland was entrusted to Charles Blunt, Lord Montjoy, a young nobleman who had succeeded Essex in the favour of Elizabeth, and obtained considerable influence over her mind, by uniting the gallantry of a passionate lover with the protestations of a devoted subject. He had good reasons to fear that this high office was conferred upon him by the crafty Cecils, merely to remove him from court, and involve him in the perils which had proved so fatal to his unfortunate predecessor, Essex. On setting out for his government, he addressed a very remarkable letter to the Queen, which, notwithstanding its length, is too important to be omitted.

"SACRED MAJESTY,

"If in this, your employment, I should only expose my life and what sustains it, to assured hazard, I should take no other counsel but your will, and think them vile respects in comparison of the precious opportunity to serve you. But

the first face of this journey threatening unto me the certain loss of your favour, pardon me, if I look fearfully thereon. It is natural unto reasonable instruments before they work, to know and to look upon the end, and with discretion to think and find out the means unto it; which if they cannot, both nature and wisdom do shun impossibilities. If I will conclude to myself herein, by example, *I shall behold all that have gone before me,* without exception, for many ages, to have been thunder-stricken with the *indignation of the Prince,* which doth not only wound deadly, but leaves where it strikes the black marks of infamy; the which, not to fear, is not valour, but impiety. If by reason (since your end is to reduce your kingdom to a peaceable obedience) I must consider whether in respect of their state and affections, or of the power and countenance that you will give to your action; or, lastly, of the interpretation I am likely to receive of my proceedings, I may hope for any better than this worst that hath happened to my fore-runners. The hearts of your unnatural subjects there, which have already declared themselves above their lives, affect by shaking your royal and equal government to enjoy their old and licentious liberty; and by reason of the multitude and quality of their offences, despair of your mercies; they were never in greater hope to effect the one, becoming proud by success and strong in power, nor more desperate of the other

by reason of the diffidence they have in the disability of your instruments safely to derive your mercy unto them. The same desire of this kind of liberty hath infected even those *indigenæ* in whom you build to have most interest. The greatest of whom, and of greatest appearance to be yours, the Earl of Ormond, is suspected to have strict intelligence with the enemy, for the present preservation of his country and for his future interest, and is known ambitiously to desire the place you employ me in. The rest, when they despair to be defended, will suddenly fall as now they cleave to the enemy. Wherefore, what assistance, nay, what opposition, I may look from them, I humbly submit to your Majesty's judgment. For your power, the reputation and effect whereof, is the only mean to govern them that have now no other bonds but their own fear and your constraint, when I shall succeed our head,* greatest in your favour, and greater by his place and offices the arguments thereof, and of greatest reputation amongst your subjects and realms for his service to you, enabled with a strong army and large commission; with only means to govern them by laws that have their swords already drawn, or to negotiate a peace with less power over their lives, or less authority to derive unto them your mercy with assurance, what shall I hope for, but that which could not be effected by far greater

* Essex.

means will not be by far less? And lastly, for the interpretation of my proceedings, which may turn both good and ill success to my ruin; what shall I look for, when I know this employment of me is by a private man that never knew what it was to divide public and honourable ends from his own, propounded and laboured to you (without any respect to your public service), the more eagerly, by my ruins to rise to his long-expected fortune.* Wherein by reason of the experience I have heard your Majesty holds him to have in that country, he is like to become my judge, and is already so proud of this plot, that he cannot keep himself from bragging of it. But since I dare not presume to trouble you with all my reasons, these being but only lights of them, I humbly desire your Majesty, before you resolve herein, that as it only belongs to you to be the supreme, you will make yourself only my judge herein, and let whomsoever you will appoint be my actors, for with you I may not, with you I cannot contest, and had rather prove a dumb, though never so unfortunate, a creature."

This letter gives a strange picture of the court of a Queen now verging on her seventieth year. Young men are found seeking the favour of the old coquette by flattering her vanity, and the ad-

* He probably means Sir Walter Raleigh, an unprincipled adventurer, whom it is the fashion to treat as a hero.

ministration of Ireland at the most critical period of its history becomes the subject of a shuffling intrigue to remove the courtier who was supposed likely to gain an ascendancy in the closet. Elizabeth's answer exhibits the romping sentimentality of a boarding-school girl who had just entered on the age of flirtation.

THE QUEEN TO LORD MONTJOY.

"O what malencoly humour hath exhaled up to your brayne, from a full-fraughted hart, that should breede such doubt, had upon no cause given by us at all, never having pronounced any syllable whereon such a work should be framed. There is no louder trump that may sound out your praise, your hazard, your care, your luck, then we have blasted in our court and elsewhere indeed. Well, I will attribute it to God's good Providence for you, that (leste all these glories might elevate you too much) he hath suffered (though not made) such a scruple, to keep you under his rod, who best knows that wee all have more need of bittes then spurres. Thus *valeant ista amara! ad Tartaros eat melancholia.*

"Your Soveraine,

"E. R."

There is a rollocking jollity in the Latin with which Elizabeth concludes, not easily to be preserved in English. We might render it,

"So now lay aside all thoughts of evil,
And send your sorrow and care to the devil."

Montjoy's reply completes the absurdity of the correspondence; it is just the language which a suitor would employ to turn the brain of some love-sick girl.

"SACRED MAJESTY,

"If darkness be the mother of fearful apprehensions, excuse me that have so long wanted those beams of yours, that only give light and lightness unto my heart, which cannot but be troubled in so tempestuous a sea, having lost the sight of my only star. But since, by your *divine* letters, I feel the influence, though I see not the heavenly substance, my mind shall sing in the midst of all dangers; for I cannot be so weary, but your voice will make me go cheerfully forwards; nor so sick but I shall be sound, if you bid me be whole. Yet shall I never bid farewell to all bitterness, till I kiss your sweet hands, who have only power to lift up or depress my mind, which I have fixed against all other fortunes, and armed against all other powers. And most dear Sovereign, I cannot acknowledge in myself any such swelling thoughts as were fit for Providence to correct; but rather think that fortune will take this little from your otherwise accomplished happiness; that you shall esteem him least that loveth you most, and want the fruits of a match-

less faith by not esteeming me, as I am and ever will be, your truest servant.

"MONTJOY."

Tyrone had heard of Montjoy's flirtations with the venerable Elizabeth, and concluded that his new antagonist was a mere butterfly of the court, who would be still more easily frustrated than Essex, and the reader of the letters we have quoted will not be surprised that such was the general impression of the Lord-deputy's character. The Queen herself showed some distrust of him by continuing Ormond in the command of the army, and constituting Sir George Carew Lord-president of Munster. In a very short time, Montjoy learned the true character of the insurrection, and the weakness of the bonds by which the several parties were held together. He compelled Tyrone to evacuate Munster, and pursued him to the northern recesses where he had long found shelter. Sir George Carew in Munster, and Montjoy in Ulster, adopted the dreadful policy of devastating the country wherever they penetrated; it was their object to deprive the unfortunate Irish of the means of subsistence, and so rigorously were the measures executed, that Moryson declares he had seen the victims of starvation lying unburied; their mouths stained green with dock-leaves and nettles, which they chewed in order to satisfy the cravings of hunger.

Infants were found attempting to draw nourishment from dead mothers; children prowled about the English camp to discover any fragments of food which might have been rejected by the soldiers; whole troops of peasants presented themselves to their priests to receive the last rites of the Church, and then lay down to die, in the tranquillity of despair. Peace it appeared could only be restored to Ireland by rendering the country a desert.

In this crisis, when Munster and Leinster were subdued and exhausted, when Connaught was preparing to submit, and when Tyrone was reduced to maintain a feeble guerilla war in Ulster, Spain, which had delayed sending any assistance, until the Irish would be so feeble as to submit to any terms which the invaders might please to dictate, at length sent an expedition to Ireland under the command of Don Juan d'Aguila, a general of some reputation. With the same fatuity which prevented the earlier arrival of the armament, Don Juan landed in the southern extremity of Munster, where the insurrection was wholly at an end, and where he was at the furthest possible distance from Tyrone and his troops. The egregious arrogance of the Spaniards disgusted the Irish chieftains; and when Tyrone marched into Munster to meet his allies, he was deserted by some of his bravest and most influential followers. At this time the Spaniards were closely invested

in Kinsale by the Lord-deputy; Tyrone took up an impregnable position in the rear of the besiegers, by which he blockaded them in turn, reducing them to a state of the greatest misery by enclosing them in the country which they had themselves devastated, so that all that was wanting to complete the destruction of the English army was, that the Irish should remain quiet in their position. Don Juan had not patience to wait the event, he goaded Tyrone by remonstrances and reproaches to make an attack on the English camp, promising to second him by a sally from the town. After a stubborn resistance Tyrone yielded, and reluctantly advanced towards the English lines. As they drew near, the Irish were surprised to find that the Spaniards made no effort to second their attack; a suspicion of treason spread through their ranks, which were thrown into confusion before an enemy appeared. As the English advanced to meet them, a panic seized the Irish cavalry, which had hitherto been the most formidable part of their forces; their flight strengthened the suspicion of treachery which had already been spread, and a total rout ensued. Tyrone made vigorous, but vain efforts, to rally his forces; the Northern chieftains, like the Scottish highlanders in later times, insisted on returning to their own fastnesses, and the Lord-deputy, with the loss of only one cornet slain, was not only delivered from imminent ruin, but ob-

tained the most decisive victory which had been gained during the entire course of the Irish war.

It is not very difficult to explain the policy, at once blundering and treacherous, of the Spanish general. Had Tyrone destroyed the English army without any great loss on his own part, he would have been able to dictate the terms on which the assistance of his allies would be received, and assuredly the annexation of Ireland to the Spanish crown would not have been conceded. Don Juan hoped that the English would be defeated, but that the Irish would, at the same time, be so weakened as to submit to whatever his unbroken forces pleased to dictate. In the fury of disappointment he hastened to make terms with the Lord-deputy, and did not hesitate to throw upon the Irish the blame of a catastrophe which was to be attributed solely to his own arrogance and incapacity.

Tyrone was equally resolved on making terms; but to the last he maintained a bold front, and obtained security both for his person and estate. Scarcely had the treaty been concluded, when intelligence was received of the death of Elizabeth, which, when the Earl heard, he burst into a passion of tears. Some believe that he really regretted her loss at such a juncture, others assert that he lamented his own premature submission; perhaps, both circumstances were combined, for he had now learned, by bitter experience, that

every change of government was fraught with injustice to Ireland, as no Lord-deputy held himself bound by the promises which his predecessors had made.

To complete the history of Tyrone's life, it is necessary that we should extend our view a short way into the reign of James I,—a monarch to whom the fame of Elizabeth is deeply indebted, since it furnished a contrast, compared with which any reign in English history, save that of a Stuart, would appear great and glorious. The age of James, however, is beyond the limits which we have assigned to ourselves, and we shall, therefore, only notice it so far as it is connected with the unhappy fate of Tyrone. The Earl was one of the many who had been duped by promises from James previously to his accession to the English crown; immediately after his victory at the Blackwater, Tyrone sent a messenger to the King of Scotland, offering instantly to proclaim him King of Ireland, and set the crown upon his head; and though this was declined, James expressed himself much gratified by the compliment. There is every reason to believe that the succession of James formed the subject of the secret discussions between Tyrone and Essex; the King, undoubtedly, was aware of Essex's insane attempt to coerce Elizabeth; and if the Queen could have gained possession of James's person at the time, he would, in all probability, have shared

the fate of his unfortunate mother. To these personal reasons may be added the general belief that James was secretly attached to his mother's creed, and would embrace the first opportunity of professing it openly, or, at least, granting a full measure of toleration to the Catholics. He opened a negotiation with Pope Clement VIII. on this subject, promising, if the Pontiff would recognize his claims to the crown of England, that he would "favour Catholics," adding, that he was prevented from showing them any immediate kindness because "the English would take it ill, and it would much hinder him in his succession; and withal that his own subjects in Scotland were so violent against Catholics, that he, being poor, durst not offend them." Whereupon the Pope replied, that if it were for want of means, he would exhaust all the treasures of the Church and sell the plate to supply him.*

Lord Montjoy's last act of administration was to publish a proclamation of oblivion and indemnity for all trespasses committed before the King's accession. He then returned to England, bringing Tyrone and Roderic O'Donnell in his train; they were both presented to the King, and received with the most flattering marks of favour; Tyrone was confirmed in his honours and possessions, and Roderic was created Earl of Tyrconnell. But

* See Bishop Goodman's History of his own Times,—a most valuable contribution to the store of original sources for history.

there were some circumstances which rendered Tyrone anxious about his safety, notwithstanding the assurances of protection he had received from the King; the dissatisfaction of the courtiers and adventurers, who had hoped to share his immense estates, were loudly expressed, and such arts were used to inflame the populace against him, that he could not travel in safety without a powerful escort.

James was well described by Henry IV. as the wisest fool in Europe; he was seriously anxious to render Ireland a tranquil and civilized country, but, at the same time, he was even more desirous than Elizabeth to introduce new bodies of settlers, and provide for rapacious favourites by extensive forfeitures. His inordinate self-conceit, also, led him to be obstinate in imposing his own views of religion on every class of his subjects; he was bent on overthrowing Presbyterianism in Scotland, Puritanism in England, and Romanism in Ireland. The Presbyterians and the Puritans eagerly supported him in persecuting the Catholics, without ever suspecting that they thus sanctioned principles of policy, which, in the end, would be directed against themselves. There was no person more decided in hostility to Romanism than Sir Arthur Chichester, who succeeded Sir George Carew as Lord-deputy of Ireland. He was a Puritan of the harshest kind, and his religion served to sharpen his appetite for the ac-

quisition of Romish fines and forfeitures. He revived the penal statutes of Elizabeth against recusancy, and even increased their severity on his own authority. He imprisoned on the charge of sedition those who remonstrated against this exertion of rigour beyond law, and he procured the capital conviction of a Romish priest who had equivocated in taking the oath of supremacy. These measures were not approved by the English council; Chichester received a slight rebuke for his violence, and was recommended to adopt the gentler means of instruction and exhortation.

A plot was necessary to the Lord-deputy, and in those days such an "ingenious device" took no long time in its contrivance. A letter dropt in the Privy Council Chamber, intimated a traitorous scheme of rebellion formed by the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, and other Irish lords and gentlemen of the north; that they had solicited assistance from Spain and Brussels, and intended to begin the war by surprising the castle of Dublin, and assassinating the Lord-deputy and council. Had not the recent discovery of the Gunpowder-plot predisposed people to believe that Papists would be guilty of the most monstrous combinations of folly and atrocity, the tale of this plot would have been rejected as the most improbable of fictions; the strength of the northern Irish, was hopelessly broken; the alliance between the priesthood, the Lords of the Pale

and the native chieftains had fallen in pieces, and the parties could not conceal their mutual dislike; and the King of Spain so far from being likely to encourage insurrection in Ireland, was secretly engaged in negotiating with James against the Dutch. Tyrone and Tyrconnell were so completely unprepared that they at once fled to the continent, abandoning their vast possessions to the crown. This flight, which at once disproves the existence of the plot, has been sometimes represented as a proof of the guilt of these noblemen. It is said, that if innocent they should have remained and stood their trial; but it is forgotten that they lived in a time, when, as Fuller says, "it was cause and reason enough to bring a sheep to the market, that he be fat." The fate of Mac Mahon, who was convicted by a jury of common soldiers, was fresh in their memories, and to wait a trial at such a time, was to volunteer self-sacrifice.

The most striking proof of the innocence of these men, is the proclamation which James issued asserting their guilt; in this he declares "it is both known to us and our counsell here, and to our deputie and state there, and so shall it appear to the world, as clear as the sun, by evident proofs that the only ground and motive of this high contempt in their departure, hath been the private knowledge and inward terror of their guiltiness." This promise was never fulfilled and these proofs were never adduced.

Dr. Leland thinks that Tyrone, if able to vindicate himself, should have published a justificatory memorial at Rome or Madrid; but such a publication would have deprived them of all claim to protection from the Pope and the Spanish monarch, without producing the slightest effect on the English government. Neither while we discredit the plot, do we believe in the perfect innocency of the northern chieftains; there is no improbability in their having discussed the chances of another insurrection with some of the friars, or jesuits, who came to Ireland as emissaries from the courts of Rome and Madrid! The dream of sovereignty, derived from his title of the O'Neill, was fondly cherished by Tyrone, and must have been frequently a theme of conversation between him and his retainers. We do not believe that he was a rebel, but we are far from asserting that he was loyal; indeed, we cannot comprehend how any man could be loyal to a government which only made itself known to him by oppression.

Tyrone was at first honourably received in Madrid, the King of Spain hoping to alarm the terror of James by threatening to send the Earl back to Ireland at the head of an army; this course of policy was resented by Cecil; a small pension was settled on Tyrone, and he received a hint that it would be wise for him to remove into the Papal territories. He took up his abode at Rome, where he lived poor and neglected until

death relieved him from regret and sorrow. His only son entered into the Spanish service, but was found dead in his bed at Brussels, and thus ended the line of the first native chieftain that exchanged an Irish principality for an English peerage.

The colonization of Ulster, which was the consequence of the forfeiture of the vast estates of the fugitive earls, forms no part of this history. In the present day it would be useless to discuss its wisdom or its policy, and still less to indulge any speculations on the results that would have followed from adopting a course of policy more in accordance with justice, namely, the granting of Irish lands to native proprietors on the condition of their submitting to English law. Such a course would have created in Ireland a class of substantial yeomen, that is, small landed-proprietors, because, as the land was the property not of the chieftain but of the sept, there should necessarily have been a subdivision of the vast tracts which would, eventually, have opened a way for the rapid progress of civilization. This was the course originally designed by Henry VIII; it was abandoned for the policy of colonization, which seemed likely to be more immediate in its results, and which also afforded means for gratifying the rapacity of hungry courtiers. The system was in itself a blunder, and every measure taken to advance, or to resist it, participated in the origi-

nal sin of absurdity. The English settlement became, what it long continued, a garrison in a hostile country, defended without wisdom because it was besieged without skill, a source of heavy expense to the country by which it was maintained, and of cruel suffering to the land in which it was stationed. The only benefit resulting from such a state of things, was the opening it afforded to a host of party-writers, who accused or defended every anomaly to which it gave rise; but it is questionable whether too large a price was not paid to purchase this employment for half a dozen generations of scribblers.

CHAPTER IX.

DR. DEE.

The Romance of absurdity, which forms so large a part of the history of the Elizabethan age, would not be complete without some notice of a man who won a European reputation by writing sheer nonsense, and bequeathed to posterity an edifying controversy to determine whether he was an enthusiast or an impostor, to say nothing of a third theory, that his writings are susceptible of an allegorical interpretation, and, under the guise of conversations with spirits, contain all the state-secrets of Europe. John Dee was the son of a respectable vintner in London, where he was born July 13th, 1527. But he was not contented with such humble parentage, he prepared a pedigree deducing his descent from Roderic the Great, Prince of Wales; he asserted that his name was originally written Du, which, in the language of the ancient British, signifies "Black," and, perhaps, from some fancied connection with the rulers of Algiers, he, for a time, wrote himself Dey instead of Dee. In 1542, he entered St. John's College

Cambridge, and for three years devoted himself so intensely to study that he only allowed six hours out of the twenty-four for recreation, food, and sleep, devoting all the rest to learning. He was particularly zealous in his mathematical pursuits, having travelled to the Netherlands for the purpose of conversing with Mercator and others, who had revived and extended the study of ancient geometry. Since in our own days the integral calculus has been applied to the demonstration of the Alhanasian creed, we must not be astonished that in Elizabeth's age the elements of Euclid were often looked upon as elements of theology, and that all the mysteries of humanity were supposed to be contained in the properties of triangles. Dee's fame for religious mathematics spread abroad; on his return to England he was chosen one of the Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge which had been just endowed by Henry VIII, and he entered on his duties as a Professor with a course of lectures which laid the foundation of his fame as a geometrician and a wizard. The latter character was attended with some inconvenience, and a very slight exertion of mechanical skill induced the young Cantabs to raise a cry, that Dee had dealings with the Devil, and was, consequently, unfit to share in the education of Christian youth.

The occasion of the outcry was sufficiently whimsical; some of the scholars had resolved to

act "The Peace," a whimsical comedy of Aristophanes, in which Trygœus is represented as riding up to heaven on the back of an enormous beetle, for the purpose of bringing the goddess of Peace back to earth, on a pillion with which he had furnished this novel charger. The mechanists of Drury Lane have effected many wonders on the stage, but it is doubtful whether they could make the Greek beetle "wheel his drony flight" to Olympus with the worthy ambassador from the pacificators of Athens on his back. Dr. Dee found no difficulty in the matter; he insinuates that he obtained some spiritual aid which enabled him to send the beetle and his rider aloft, with a seraphic vigour quite astonishing to the audience. This feat excited "great wondering, and many strange reports;" the contriver was in consequence compelled to leave the University; he went to Louvain to pursue his studies, and afterwards to Paris, where he was offered a liberal salary if he would accept the professorship of mathematics. Dee refused, and, in 1551, returned to England, where he was introduced to Secretary Cecil, and afterwards to King Edward VI, from whom he received a grant of the rectory of Upton-upon-Severn. At this time he assumed the title of Doctor of Laws, which he asserted that he had received in Louvain; he showed his forgiveness of the injuries he had received in Cambridge by sending to Trinity College several mathemati-

cal instruments, particularly a fine pair of globes made by Gerard Mercator.

Upon Queen Mary's accession to the throne, Dee entered into a secret correspondence with the Princess Elizabeth, the purport of which was suspected to be a plan for taking away the Queen's life by enchantment. He was arrested at Hampton Court, strictly examined by the Privy Council, and brought before the Star Chamber. After a perilous trial he was acquitted of treason, but instead of being dismissed he was handed over to Bishop Bonner to be examined on a charge of heresy. In the Bishop's prison he shared the bed and cell of Barthlett Green, who was, afterwards, burned for ridiculing the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Dee escaped the honours of martyrdom, for which he was not very ambitious, by the friendship of some of King Philip's Spanish courtiers with whom he had formed an acquaintance in Louvain. So little was his credit impeached by these untoward events that, in the following year, he presented a memorial to the Queen, urging her to establish a public library for preserving ancient writings and monuments, and for recovering such as were in danger of perishing. It is not known by what accident a design so favourable to literature was defeated.

Upon the accession of Elizabeth, Dee was introduced at court by Lord Robert Dudley,

afterwards Earl of Leicester, and was requested by the Queen to find out by the stars a lucky day for her coronation. Elizabeth was so pleased with his astrological skill that she promised to be kinder to him than her brother Edward had been, and actually afforded him some very extraordinary marks of her affection and favour. She consented to become his pupil, and to receive instruction in the concealed sense of the unintelligible works which he published. If the doctor imposed on the Queen by words which had no meaning, she rewarded him by promises of preferment which were never performed. He received, however, considerable sums of money for secret services, and some of those trifling presents which are deemed of high value when conferred by royalty. On one occasion, she sent him a cheese, which was probably intended as a jest on his Welch descent, for, as we learn from the following epigram, the love of Welchmen for cheese was a frequent theme of ridicule in those days:

"The way to make a Welchman thirst for bliss,
And say his prayers daily on his knees,
Is to persuade him that most certain 'tis
The moon is made of nothing but green cheese;
And he 'll desire of God no greater boon
But place in Heaven to feed upon the moon."

Dee has given a very curious account of the services he rendered to the Queen. Speaking of what he did in 1577 and the following

year, he says, "My careful and faithful endeavour was with great speed required, as by divers messengers sent to me one after another in one morning, to prevent the mischief which divers members of her Majesty's Privy Council suspected to be intended against her Majesty's person, by means of a certain image of wax, with a great pin stuck into it, about the breast of it, found in Lincoln's-inn Fields. . . Wherein I did satisfy her Majesty's desire, the lords of the honourable Privy Council within few hours, in godly and artificial manner, as the Honourable Mr. Secretary Wilson, whom at the least I required to have by me a witness of the proceedings, which his honour, before me, declared to her Majesty, then sitting without the privy park, by the landing place, at Richmond, the honourable Earl of Leicester being also by.

"My dutiful service was done in the diligent conference which, by her Majesty's commandment, I had with Mr. Dr. Bayley, her Majesty's physician, about her Majesty's grievous pangs and pains by reason of toothache and the rheum, &c. in October, 1578.

"My very painful and winter journey, about a thousand five hundred miles by sea and land, was undertaken and performed to consult with the learned physicians beyond the seas, for her Majesty's health recovering and preserving, having by the right honourable the Earl of Leicester

and Mr. Secretary Walsingham but one hundred days allowed me to go and come again, in A. D. 1578. My passport may somewhat give evidence, and the journal and little book of every day's journey or abode for these hundred days, may suffice."

Dee's services to the Earl of Leicester were of a more questionable character; he acted as a spy for that nobleman abroad and at home: as when he visited the court of Maximilian under the specious pretext of presenting a book which he had dedicated to the Emperor; he furnished the Earl with astrological predictions, for, like all the Puritans of that age, the cunning Leicester was excessively credulous and superstitious; finally, the doctor employed his chemical skill in compounding the subtile poisons which his patron unscrupulously used to remove any obstacles to the indulgence either of his lust or his ambition.

Dee settled at Mortlake, where he continued to prosecute his studies with great diligence; he collected a splendid library of books and manuscripts, which were afterwards dispersed and lost. Its fate may well be regretted, since it included a valuable collection of Irish and Welch records, grants, donations, and pedigrees, none of which were ever recovered. The Queen once visited him for the purpose of inspecting his library; but being informed that his wife had been buried

a few hours before, she declined going into the house. She, however, desired him to bring out to her the magic crystal which Dee and Kelly afterwards rendered so famous. Dee explained its properties to Elizabeth ; but it does not appear that he exhibited to her any of the angelic apparitions which he asserted were revealed in his mirror. The appearance of a new star in 1572, and of a comet in 1577, produced great alarm ; on both occasions the doctor was summoned to court for the purpose of explaining these phenomena, which he is said to have done very satisfactorily. He intended to have published the results of his observations on this comet, but his papers were lost. In the Cottonian Library there is a very curious manuscript work composed by the doctor at this time, by command of the Queen, on the countries discovered by the subjects of England in various quarters of the globe, and the consequent claims of the English monarchs to sovereignty over such lands. Lord Burleigh, to whom this important document was referred, seems to have thought very little either of the work or its author, for he quietly gave orders for its suppression.

A more honourable and important task was entrusted to Dr. Dee,—the reformation of the calendar, on which he prepared a memorial of very great merit. His papers, by the direction of the Council, were submitted to three of the

best mathematicians in the kingdom, who very strongly commended them, and advised that his proposed reforms should be adopted. When the same task was effected by Pope Gregory, it was said that "His Holiness had found out an evil which did nobody any harm, and devised a remedy which did nobody any good." Elizabeth's ministers appear to have had a similar contempt for the amendment of the almanac: the papers were examined, applauded, and laid aside.

In 1581, Dee became acquainted with Edward Kelly, an apothecary of Worcester, who had made some proficiency in the study of chemistry, and pretended to have discovered the philosopher's stone. He became seer, or, as Lilly calls him, speculator to Doctor Dee; it was he who saw the visions in the magic crystal, and the conversations of the angels were reported by him to his employer. Hence Hudibras says,—

> "Kelly did all his feats upon
> The devil's looking-glass—a stone;
> Where playing with him at bo-peep,
> He solved all problems ne'er so deep."

Mr. Mackay, in his very learned and pleasing work on Popular Delusions, has adopted the theory that Kelly imposed upon Dee; that the doctor was throughout the mere dupe of an artful quack, and that his delusive arts can alone account for the monstrous absurdities which Dee with implicit faith published to the world. We

believe that this view of the case is incorrect; Dee sought out Kelly for his purpose, retained him long afterwards when he was desirous of leaving him, and had recourse to the same methods some years after he and Kelly had parted. Nor was Dee the only believer in these apparitions; Archbishop Usher read the manuscript account of the angelic communications, and desired the book to be printed for the purpose of confounding those who were not believers in spiritual agencies; the learned Dr. Casaubon, who edited Dee's relation of his intercourse with spirits, strenuously contends for the truth of the narrative; and the following additional voucher appears in the copy of Casaubon's work, belonging to the British Museum, written by the original possessor of the book.

"I remember well when this book was first published, that there were persons who held that government had a solemn censure upon suppressing it, as looking upon it as published by the Church-of-England men, in reproach of them who then pretended so much to inspirations (the publication took place during Cromwell's usurpation). Goodwyn, Owen, and the rest, were great sticklers against it, but it was so quickly published and spread, and so eagerly bought up, as being a great and curious novelty, that it was beyond their power to suppress it.

"But it is admirable that the great dæmono-

logers of that party, Henry Baxter, and others, when they are to prove their doctrines of devils, never have recourse to this book, but to some other foolish and impertinent story.

" Indeed, the way of discoursing, the style, and some of the doctrines, seem to come out of one quiver, that is of enthusiasts, anabaptists, and other fanatics.

" *But I do not see what any Sadducee can say when he is pressed with the truth of these discourses.* For to believe all this was mere melancholy and enthusiasm in Dr. Dee, that continued so many years in him, I think is an assertion too bold for any man to offer. Or to believe that Bartholomew or his son, Arthur, who did pretend to see, did abuse him, I think is more than any one will say.

" For Edward Kelly, he was a very rascal; but whether he was always an impostor, and pretended to see that he did not, and hear also, and so long together, is very difficult to believe. For this operation he had fifty pounds per annum salary, which he was very often ready to leave, for what reason every one is free to judge.

" Nevertheless, some are of opinion there was never any such thing at all; but that Dr. Dee was willing to leave such a strange book behind him to amuse the world after his death, and if he were not imposed upon himself to have the vanity of imposing upon others. Many others have done so before him, as Carolus, Sigonius,

&c.; but, above all, Curtius Fughiranius, in his 'Antiquities of Etruria,' wherein he had been at great trouble in making and hiding several fooleries, discovered long after his death, in our time."

Next to Kelly, the most important person connected with Dr. Dee was Albert Laski, or, as he was sometimes styled, Albertus Alasio, Palatine of Siradia, in the kingdom of Poland. He was a man possessed of very great learning and very little common sense; his appearance was graceful; and, like Hudibras, he wore an immense beard in consequence of one of those whimsical vows so common at this period:

> "Which holy vow he strictly kept,
> And most devoutly wore,
> A grisly meteor on his face;
> Till they were both no more."

Laski was received with all imaginable respect in England; he was feasted and caressed by the University of Oxford, received into the houses of the principal nobility, and highly favoured by the Queen herself. Leicester introduced the foreigner to Dr. Dee, and told him that in two days time he would bring this Polish nobleman to dine with him at Mortlake. Dee stated that he had not the means of providing them with an entertainment unless he sold his plate and furniture; the circumstance was reported to Queen

Elizabeth, who immediately ordered that the Doctor should be presented with forty angels in gold, rather more welcome visitors than the angels of the magic mirror. Dee soon became very intimate with Laski, and furnished him with a pedigree, deducing his descent from the noble family of Lacy, allied by inter-marriage with the Mortimers to the blood-royal of England. This precious genealogy was stated by the Doctor to have been revealed to him and Kelly by an angel. The account of the first appearance of this angelic lecturer on history may be best given in Dee's own words:

"May 28th, 1583.—As I and Edward Kelly sate discoursing of the noble Polonian, Albertus Laski, his great honour here with us obtained, his great good liking of all states of the people, of either them that see him or hear of him, and again, how much I was beholding to God, that his heart should so fervently favour me, and that he doth so much strive to suppress and confound the malice and envie of my countrymen against me, for my better credit winning or recovering to do God better service hereafter thereby, &c. Suddenly there seemed to come out of my oratory a spiritual creature, like a pretty girl of seven or nine years old, attired on her head with her hair rowled up before and hanging down very long behind, with a gown of sey (satin) . . . . changeable green and red and with a train, she seemed

to play up and down . . . . . like, and seemed to go in and out behind my books, lying on heaps, the biggest . . . . . and as she should ever go between them, the books seemed to give place sufficiently dis . . . . one heap from the other while she passed between them: and so I considered a while of the divers reports which Edward Kelly made unto me of this pretty maiden."

Before reporting the conversation of this tricksy spirit, we must mention that Dee has a custom of leaving unmeaning blanks in his sentences, to which a mystical signification was attached by himself and his followers. In the dialogue *D.* stands for the doctor, *M.* for the angelic maiden, and *E. K.* for Edward Kelly. A brief extract will be sufficient.

D. "Whose maiden are you?"

M. "Whose man are you?"

D. "I am the servant of God, both by my bound duty, and also I hope by his adoption."

(*An unknown voice.*) "You shall be beaten if you tell."

M. "Am I not a fine maiden? Give me leave to play in your house; my mother told me she would come and dwell here."

"She went up and down with most lively gesture of a young girl, playing by herself, and divers times another spake to her from the corner of my study, by a great perspective glass, but none was seen besides herself."

M. "Shall I? I will."—(Here she seemed to answer one in the aforesaid corner of the study.

D. "Tell me who you are?"

M. "I pray you let me play with you a little, and I will tell you who I am."

D. "In the name of Jesus, then, tell me."

M. "I rejoice in the name of Jesus, and I am a poor little maiden, Madimi, I am the last but one of my mother's children: I have little baby-children at home."

D. "Where is your home?"

M. "I dare not tell you where I dwell; I shall be beaten."

D. "You shall not be beaten for telling the truth to them that love the truth, to the eternal truth all creatures must be obedient."

M. "I warrant you, I will be obedient. My sisters say they must all come and dwell with you."

D. "I desire that they who love God should dwell with me, and I with them. . . . . ."

E. K. "She smileth; one calls her, saying, 'Come away, maiden.'"

Instead of going away, Madimi began to turn over the leaves of a History of England, and pointing to the portaits, dwelt strongly on those who were to be represented as the progenitors of Albert Laski. The Palatine himself was present at some of these spiritual interviews; in most, but not in all cases, the visions were seen and the

voices heard by Kelly alone, who made his report to Dee. Among other revelations, it was foretold that Laski should obtain the kingdom of Poland, with the addition of the province of Moldavia, and that his family should become the great bulwark of Christendom against the Mohammedans. Seduced by such extravagant promises, Laski indulged in such expenses, that he was obliged to leave England to avoid his creditors. He was accompanied by Dee and Kelly, whom he invited to his castle in Poland: they went the more willingly, as they were aware that the people, generally, regarded them with hatred and suspicion. Indeed, soon after their departure, Dee's house at Mortlake was pillaged by an infuriate mob, his books dispersed or destroyed, and his valuable mathematical apparatus broken to pieces.

Dee details very minutely the circumstances of the voyage; both he and Kelly were accompanied by their wives and children; they went in boats to Gravesend, where they embarked on board a Danish ship bound for Holland; but meeting with very tempestuous weather, they were obliged to go on shore again at Queenborough in Kent, and in their passage from the ship were in the utmost danger of perishing. On the 3rd of October they set sail from the Brill for Rotterdam, and were edified on their voyage by several extraordinary visions in the magic crystal.

On the 26th of October, while they were at Bremen, "a spiritual creature" appeared to Edward Kelly alone, and, acting on the precedent of the Pythian priestess, delivered to him a strange prophecy in verse. Specimens of angelic poetry being rather scarce in this generation, it is desirable to preserve this genuine effusion of a spiritual visitant.

"Ganilus, that in house most fiery, fairer than the Sun,
Hath honour great, saith, Sirs, give place, your former course is run;
Therefore, first-framed clouds unknown draw near with mighty storms,
Wherein such bodies lie obscur'd, or take ten thousand forms,
Your bodies strowting,* long disclose, and on the harlot earth
Some fair to man, as when the waves as midwives help our birth.
Twice shall the sun put on the heavens, and once look quarter way,
And working uncouth worlds, build up a city where men say
The Holiest stood: and Bears bring in usurping fire at hand,
And *people spread return*, whose new-built altars flaming stand.
While such as strangers were, *Caiesy* cry and bloody knife,
With privy shame defil'd bekyss, a thing not sometimes rife,
From midnight unto noon, two parts and more shall slaughter feel,
And all the world from south taste all down force of fire and steel.

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* *Strowting*, stretching or extending: thus, Drayton in the Polyolbion,

"The dainty clover grows, of grass the only silke,
That makes each udder *strowt* abundantly with milke."

Small wonder, though the earth at fighting shadows nothing grieve,
When mighty seas shall dry and heavens lie, who can live?
That mortal eyes shall see a temple built with precious stones,
Or creatures strange made new in sight, of old and long dried bones,
Or angels dwell on earth: but I whose fiery fingers can
Unloose thrice-sealed books, and utter words unknown to man,
I see those cursed wights, whose borders lead thy journey on
Shall with the thirtieth month be bought, or sold or fully gone.
And *England perish first with moths* long harbour'd in her skirts,
The *Spaniards lose their king,* and *France rebel and fall by spirts;*
And holy man besieged at home ten days with these days' whelps
Till he at length's made free by sudden force of Virtue's helps.
The Polish king hath played, and friendly men shall then bear sway.
Amongst earthly friends, and such as hope of former faith decay.
At last wear highest crown, if *fall from virtue makes no losse*
And midst this evil to come in space of new come laysor tosse.
Then lo, come other times most holy, and a kingdom shall
From heaven come, and things forthwith again to order call."

After having quitted Bremen, the travellers proceeded through Lubeck, Rostock, and Stetin, being favoured with visions in each place to the town of Laski, where they arrived February 3rd, 1584. The Palatine was very anxious to obtain money to redeem the mortgages on his lands, and to pay off his debts in Cracow; application was made to the tricksy spirit Madimi, but she would give no satisfactory answer, declaring that her mother required the travellers to remove to Cracow, which they accordingly did. At Cracow Dee and Kelly lived for six months at the ex-

pense of Laski, deluding him by absurd visions and promises of wealth and greatness, until both his purse and patience were exhausted. At length, he contrived to have them invited to pay a visit to the Emperor Rodolph II, at Prague, the capital of his kingdom, Bohemia. Laski, however, refused to accompany Dee or to make any provision for travelling expenses; and for this severe punishment was threatened by one of the spiritual ministers, who appeared in the crystal or stone. A black and naked angel, whose words were accompanied by fire issuing from his mouth, declared to Dee, "I have not sealed this sin unto thee, but yet I have measured out a plague, and it shall light upon you all. But unto Laski I have sealed it, and it shall be heavy."

Dee and Kelly reached Prague in August, 1584; Rodolph, who was a firm believer in alchemy and magic, supplied them with a house, in which there was a study, formerly tenanted by one of the most devout seekers for the philosopher's stone; and the mystic hieroglyphics painted on its walls were a source at once of pleasure and perplexity to the two adepts. Madimi soon appeared to them, and brought tidings of the defection of Laski, but promised him the patronage of the Emperor Rodolph, to whom, by her direction, he wrote a letter full of the most magnificent promises.

Kelly's conduct gave Dee much disquiet on

their first arrival in Prague; he got drunk, quarrelled with Laski's servant, Alexander, who had escorted the travellers from Cracow; and when informed of this outrage in the morning, he was so far from manifesting any compunction, that he made an attempt on Alexander's life. "This may suffice," says Dee, "to notify the mighty temptation and vehement working of the subtle spiritual enemy, Satan, wherewith God permitted Edward Kelly to be tempted, and almost overcome, to my great grief, discomfort, and most great discredit. The story reached the ears of the Emperor, and was far from prepossessing him in favour of the adventurers; however, he granted Dee an audience, and listened patiently to a long dissertation on the virtues of the magic mirror or stone, and to a message from Madimi, promising him the conquest of Turkey if he should forsake his sins and amend his life. The Emperor was looking for the means of transmitting base metals into gold, which he probably regarded as more feasible than the change of his own sinful habits; he began to treat the Doctor coolly, and in a short time the spirit Uriel, through Kelly, announced the expediency of being reconciled to Laski, saying "Thou hast groaned for him and hast placed him in thy heart; from henceforth will I reconcile him unto me, and he shall come hither shortly. But he is a wanton, and very prone to sin .... Cæsar (the Emperor) thought

thou hadst the philosopher's stone, and as yet he thinketh so. Even as I choaked the gluttonous Israelites with quails, so will I choak him with that secret. Behold thou shalt write unto him, saying that he regardeth not Heaven; and say unto him that thou canst make the philosopher's stone; I will perform it unto thee. Thou shalt do it, and I will give unto thee a special virtue in healing; that whensoever thou comest hither, thou shalt understand the truth; and this I do, because they shall not despise thee." A few days after, Dee makes the following brief but significant memorandum in his diary:—"I wrote to the Lord Laski of our want of money!" The hint was probably taken; for Uriel, on his next appearance declared, "Lead out Laski by the hand, and bring him hither, and prophesie against his enemies, that I may break them in pieces."

Dee and Kelly returned to Cracow in April, 1585, where Laski introduced them to Stephen, King of Poland; but that Prince soon discovered their delusions, and treated them so coolly, that they went back to Prague. They did not remain long at the Emperor's court, for the Pope's nuncio interfered, and insisted that the emperor should banish two such notorious magicians from his dominions. Rodolph issued the required edict, but at the same time permitted Count Rosenberg to give them shelter in his castle at Trebona, where they lived for a time in great splendour. It was

here that Kelly pretended to have had a revelation, enjoining him and his master to have their wives in common. After some delay and repugnance, Dee consented to the infamous proposal; a solemn covenant was prepared, under the pretended direction of the archangel Raphael, which was formally subscribed by Dee, Kelly, and their wives.

Kelly now began to weary of his employment; he had been persuaded by some German chemists that a powder, which Dee and he had brought from England, would, if rightly used, change base metals into gold, and he thought this a more profitable pursuit than listening to the conversations of spirits. He so thoroughly intimidated Dee, that the Doctor gave up the powder, and all the books relating to it, with which Kelly departed to the court of the Emperor. Here Kelly contrived to deceive the Emperor and his council; they created him a Baron of the empire, and assigned him a magnificent residence in Prague. After some time had elapsed, suspicions were awakened, and Kelly was thrown into prison. The English ambassador, duped by his pretensions, wrote such a high account of Kelly's alchemical powers to Queen Elizabeth and the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, that they wrote to the minister to aid the philosopher in making his escape. Kelly's guards were drugged with opium,

and horses were prepared to carry him away; but as he was climbing over a wall, his foot slipped, and he fell so heavily that he broke both his legs. He survived only a few hours, but to the very last he maintained the reality of his pretensions. Ashmole, who calls him Sir Edward Kelly, declares that there were other reports of the manner of his death; and a German writer asserts that he was assassinated by command of the Emperor Rodolph.

Some poems are ascribed to Kelly: among which we may reckon the angelic effusion already quoted. A curious poetical epistle to G. S., gentleman, concerning the philosopher's stone, was published after his decease, and we insert it for the benefit of those who may desire to study the secrets of alchemy.

" The heavenly Cope hath in him natures four,
Two hidden, but the rest to sight appear;
Wherein the sperms of all the bodies lower
Most secret are, yet spring forth once a year,
And as the earth with water authors are,
So of his part is Driné's end of care.

No flood so great as that which floweth still,
Nothing more fixt than earth digested thrice;
No wind so fresh as when it serveth will;
No profit more than keep in and be wise,
No better hap, than dire up air to dust,
For then thou may'st leave off and sleep thy lust.

Yet will I warn thee, lest thou chance to fail,
Sublime thine earth with stinking water fust,
Then in a place where Phœbus only tayle
Is seen at mid-day, see thou mingle best;
For nothing shineth that doth want his light
Nor doubleth beams, unless it first be bright.

Let no man lead, unless he knows the way
That wise men teach, or Adrop leadeth in,
Whereof the first is large and easiest prey,
The other hard and mean but to begin.
For surely these and no one more is found
Wherein Apollo will his harp-strings sound.

Example learn of God that placed the skies
Reflecting virtues from and t' every point,
In which the mover, wherein all things lies,
Doth hold the virtues all of every joint;
And therefore essence fifth may well be said
Containing all, and yet himself a maid.

Remember, also, how the gods began,
And by descent who was to each the sire;
Then learn their lives and kingdoms if you can,
Their manners eke, with all their whole attire;
Which if thou do, and know to what effect,
The learned Sophis will not thee reject.

If this my doctrine bend not with thy brain,
Then say I nothing, though I said too much;
Of truth, 'tis good-will moved me, not gain,
To write these lines; yet write I not to such
As catch at crabs when better fruit appear,
And want to choose at fittest time of year.

Thou may'st, my friend, say what is this for lore?
I answer, such as ancient physicke taught;
And though thou read a thousand books before,
Yet in respect of this they teach thee nought:
Thou may'st, likewise, be blind and call me fool,
Yet shall these rules for ever praise their school.

The allusion to the gods in the sixth verse of these incomprehensible rules refers to a theory which, in Elizabeth's age, had many supporters, —namely, that the whole of the ancient mythology was an allegorical system of occult philosophy, framed for the purpose of concealing such important secrets from the vulgar. Thus, in the following description of the philosopher's stone, which we have seen ascribed to Kelly, we believe erroneously, it will be seen that the fable of Daphne is assumed to refer to transmutation:

"Though Daphne fly from Phœbus bright,
Yet shall they both be one,
And if you understand this right
You have our famous stone.

For Daphne, she is fair and white,
But volatile is she;
Phœbus a fixed god of might,
And red as blood is he.

Daphne is a water-nymph,
And hath of moisture store,
While Phœbus doth consume with heat,
And dries her very sore.

They being dried into one,
Of crystal flood must drink,
Till they be brought to a white stone,
Which wash with virgin's milk,

So long until they flow as wax,
And no fume you can see,
Then have you all you need to ask,
Pray God, and thankful be."

Two other mythological directions are given in the book of alchemy from which we have quoted; both deserve to be extracted as specimens of Elizabethan science. The first enjoins—

"Take Mercury from Mercury which is his wife,
For Mercury's wife to Mercury maketh great strife;
But Mercury's wife's wife
To Mercury maketh no strife."

The second is a variation of the preceding:—

"And thou wed Mercury to Mercury with her wife,
Then shall Mercury and Mercury be merry withouten strife:
For Mercury's wife to Mercury maketh great strife,
But Mercury's wife's wife to Mercury maketh no strife."

It is rather doubtful whether the last of these poetical prescriptions which we shall extract must not be regarded as ironical; the only reason for supposing it to be serious is, that Ridicule herself in the days of her deification could not have rendered the alchemists more ridiculous than they made themselves.

"I asked Philosophy how I should
Have of her the thing I would.
She answered me, when I was able
To make the water malleable;
Or else the way if I could find
To measure out a yard of wind:
Then shalt thou have thine own desire
When thou canst weigh an ounce of fire:
Unless that thou can do these three,
Content thyself, thou get'st not me."

We must now return to Dr. Dee, who soon after his quarrel with Kelly, was invited back to England by a letter from Elizabeth herself. He travelled in almost regal state; he informs us himself that the expence of his journey amounted to eight hundred pounds, which was an immense sum in those days. He landed at Gravesend November 23rd, 1589, and on the 9th of December following presented himself to the Queen, by whom he was most graciously received. He then retired to his house at Mortlake, where he exerted himself to recover his books, which had been dispersed, and succeeded better than he could have expected. Although it was generally believed that he had discovered the great secret of alchemy, he was miserably poor; — no uncommon case with people who have the reputation of making money. The Queen promised to give him two hundred angels in gold to keep his Christmas, one half of which he actually received, the remainder was

intercepted by some officer of the court. So common was this practice of taking heavy toll out of all money which passed to and from the hands of the Queen, that any who had either to pay or to receive were forced to lament that many of their good angels must go to the devil. Elizabeth also recommended Dee to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and in doing so made the singular declaration, that Dee's journey to Poland and Germany had been undertaken with her full sanction, — a circumstance which seems to confirm the assertion of the German historians, that, to his other respectable functions, the doctor superadded that of political spy.

We have not sufficient means for investigating the use which crafty politicians in this and the ensuing age made of astrologers, fortune-tellers, and quack-salvers; the dupes who came to consult them necessarily revealed the projects in which they were engaged, and thus put the impostors in possession of secrets which they were able to sell to great advantage. Lilly certainly acted such a part in the Civil Wars, as any one who diligently studies his Autobiography will soon detect. Predictions were rendered easy to these mountebanks by their becoming acquainted with the secret springs by which the course of events was regulated; they foretold events from a knowledge of their causes; they sometimes erred, as Lilly notoriously did when he predicted

that "the reign of the saints" would follow the overthrow of Richard Cromwell's Protectorate; but even here he was nearer the truth than is generally imagined. Sir Henry Vane, and the rest of the Committee of Safety, had not enthusiasm led them to neglect the proper application of the means in their power, might have realized their favourite project,—

> "To see an empire all of kings,
> Delivered from the Egyptian awe
> Of justice, government, and law,
> And free t' erect what spiritual cantons
> Should be revealed, or gospel Hanse towns."

Culpeper, another of these prognosticators, foretold that the kingdom of Christ would begin in Hull. There can be little doubt that he had been consulted by Overton, who was the most credulous of fanatics, previously to his attempt on that town, which is thus commemorated in one of the songs of the day :—

> "But Overton most with wonder did seize us,
> By seizing of Hull for no less than King Jesus,
> He hoping—as it by the story appears—
> To be his lieutenant for one thousand years."

Dee, in his "Compendious Rehearsal" of his claims upon government, sets forth several letters written to him upon particular occasions by the Queen, the Earls of Oxford and Leicester, the "dancing chancellor" Sir Christopher Hatton,

the Lord-Treasurer Burleigh, Sir Henry Sydney, and many others. No passage in these letters directly proves that he was employed as a spy,* and yet the effect of the whole forces such a conclusion upon us, for he is addressed as a person possessing more definite means of supplying information than the revelations of spirits in a black stone. He had some difficulty in obtaining preferment, probably on account of the great aversion with which he was regarded by the people, for Elizabeth and her ministers often found it necessary to manifest their respect for public opinion. At length, after many disappointments, he obtained the wardenship of the collegiate church of Manchester, and to that town he removed in the beginning of the year 1596. Dee at first seems to have been ambitious of obtaining fame as a popular preacher in the Puritanical fashion, and in this he was aided by his pretensions to spiritual intercourse; for in no

* Strype declares that soon after Dee's return from Bohemia, Edward Kelly communicated to the Queen the particulars of a plot which had been formed against her life; he probably obtained his information from the Spanish ambassador, who was a firm believer in the supernatural powers of the two adventurers, and consulted them frequently in the hope of discovering what would be the result of the projects formed by his court. Strada somewhere mentions that the plans of the Prince of Parma had been more than once disconcerted by the imprudence of the Spanish statesmen, who placed too much confidence in quack-salvers and fortune-tellers.

part of England was there a firmer belief in supernatural agencies, both celestial and infernal, than in the county-palatine of Lancashire. Some of the Fellows of the college did not admire the new school of pulpit-eloquence, and, particularly, the mixed theological and alchemical allusions to the mysterious sun, which, by a gross perversion of the scriptural phrase, "The sun of righteousness with healing in its wings," was pretended to indicate the great secrets of the transmutation, and the universal medicine. The following lampoon on Dee, or one of his imitators and disciples, was circulated at this period :—

"A smooth-tongued preacher that did much affect
To be reputed of the purer sect,
Unto those times great praise did afford,
That brought, he said, the sunshine of the word ;*
The sunshine of the Word, this he extoll'd,
The sunshine of the Word, this still he loll'd,†

* Those who united philosophical, or rather alchemical, credulity to religious fanaticism,—a numerous body among the early Puritans,—quoted the beginning of St. John's Gospel as a proof that there existed a mystic word, like the Shem Hamphorash of the Jews, by the mere pronunciation of which the greatest miracles could be effected.

† None of our lexicographers have noticed this use of the verb *loll*, to signify fondling or dandling; it occurs, however, in an old ballad preserved by tradition in the north of England,

He loll'd her in his arms,
He lull'd her on his breast.

But I that well observ'd what slender fruits
Have grown of all their preachings and disputes,
Pray God they bring us not, when all is done,
Out of God's blessing into this warm Sun.
For sure as some of them have used the matter,
Their Sunshine is but moonshine in the water."

By the inhabitants of Manchester and of all the country round Dee was regarded as a person possessed of supernatural skill, who could afford them relief in cases that lay out of the ordinary course of medicine. He was also consulted in cases of robbery, one of which is preserved among his manuscripts, and has been partially printed by Casaubon. The schedule of the case is written in the style which somebody has characterized as, "not a bad hand, but a most execrable foot."

"The name of my house is Eccleston of Eccleston, the man's name whom I suspect is Thomas Webster, Carpenter, of the age under forty, not more, within the county of Lancaster.

"The place was in a false roof, adjoining to a chimney, called New-chamber chimney."

"EDWARD ECCLESTON."

Annexed to this is an astrological scheme very clumsily executed with notes in Dr. Dee's handwriting. He concludes from his calculations that the stolen property may be recovered, but not without difficulty, that some suspicions attach

to one of the maid-servants, but that Thomas Webster was the principal thief. He had begun another figure in order to discover where both the delinquent and the property were concealed, but on these points he did not arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. Notwithstanding these follies, Dee published several excellent mathematical works, and wrote some others which still exist in MSS, and which well deserve the attention of those who are curious in the antiquities of science: among others we may mention, "An essay on the cause of the tides,"—"Rules for calculating the Ephemerides" "written at the request, and for the use of that excellent mechanician, Master Richard Chancellor in his last voyage to Russia."—"A defence of Roger Bacon" &c. But in his days mathematics were identified with magic,* and

* The connection between mathematics and magic, has been sometimes revived in our days. A student of the Dublin University who had obtained honours for his proficiency in analytic geometry, was actually requested by a country squire to find out a cow that he had lost. The student expressed his surprise at the application, but the Squire said that he had been informed that persons skilled in algebra could discover "unknown quantities"; the student explained that certain things must be *given*, in order to the proper statement of an algebraical question, and advised him to state the "problem of the lost cow" in the following form—"Given the reward and the description of the cow, to find her." It may be well to add that the problem was proposed in this mathematical form, and a satisfactory result attained.

Dee's learned labours only served to strengthen the imputations cast upon his character by the Fellows of his college in Manchester. He was so annoyed by these reports that he presented a petition to King James, requesting to have his conduct judicially investigated, but the monarch on the mere report that Dee was a conjuror refused to show him the slightest favour. Indignant at the injurious treatment he continued to receive, he quitted Manchester with his family in the month of November, 1604; it is uncertain whether he renounced the wardenship at the same time, but he seems to have received no more of its revenues, for, during the remainder of his life, which was passed at Mortlake, he suffered severely from the pressure of poverty, and was obliged to part with the larger portion of his library in order to provide means for the support of his family. He now resumed his "Actions with Spirits" through the medium of the magic mirror which had been suspended for nearly twenty years, having obtained Bartholomew Hickman's services to supply the place of Kelly. His son, Arthur, also, sometimes acted as seer, and his friend, John Pontoys, who had returned from Poland, was very anxious to serve him in the same capacity. The last entry in his journal is Sept. 7th, 1607; he died in the following year, at the advanced age of eighty-one, and was buried at Mortlake, where no stone marks his grave.

Dee had a very numerous posterity, both male and female; his son, Arthur, was so eminent a physician, that he was sent by King James to the Emperor of Russia, or Muscovy, as it was then called, who had applied to the English monarch to recommend a physician to his household. While at Moscow, he published a Latin treatise on the Hermetic philosophy, which Elias Ashmole, a firm believer in alchemy, translated into English. After his return to England, Arthur Dee was appointed one of the physicians in ordinary to Charles I.; but, for some unknown reason, he removed to Norwich, where he practised with great success to his death. The celebrated Sir Thomas Browne was one of Arthur's intimate friends, and to him he affirmed on oath, that "he had seen projections made by his father and Kelly, and transmutation of pewter dishes and flagons into silver, which they sold to the goldsmiths of Prague." He added, that this had been effected by a powder which his father had found in some old place, with a hieroglyphic book explaining its use; but that both the powder and the book had been taken away by Kelly.

The miraculous stone, or mirror, in which the actions of the spirits were manifested, appears to have been, from Dee's account, of a globular form, and semi-transparent like imperfect crystal; it is probably lost, though more than one mu-

seum claims to possess the wondrous mirror. From a note in one of Dee's manuscripts, which is very much defaced, it appears that he had got the stone set in gold during his residence in Prague, which none of the pretended stones are. His belief that spirits might be seen in this mirror is derived from the old doctrine of specular magic, which, probably, originated with the first man who saw his own face reflected in a pool of water. In our own times, the magician and his seer, or descryer, in Cairo, have made many visitors of Egypt all but downright believers in this part of occult philosophy. They may shelter themselves under the high authority of Friar Bacon, who says that God permits dæmons to exhibit themselves by reflections in polished bodies, "so that boys looking into the mirror can see the spectral appearances of things stolen, the persons who took them, and the places whither they have been carried." Camerarius mentions a gentleman of Nuremberg who possessed a magic crystal, from which he could learn what he pleased by employing as his seer a boy or girl who had not attained the age of puberty: this condition was also required in the seer employed by the Egyptian magician. Not only did the Nuremberg stone reveal events, but it solved all the doubts and perplexities of learned men. It was broken in pieces by Camerarius, who feared that

his friend would peril his soul by using such a talisman.

Bishop Warburton supposes that the Witch of Endor practised hydromancy, or the art of predicting by the fluid mirror, dwelling strongly on the name of her residence, Endor, which signifies "a perpetual fountain." In many parts of Europe, the shadows of future events are supposed to display themselves on the rocky basins of mountain-streams, which are kept perpetually full by the falling water. In Ireland, there is such a prophetic mirror of water at the upper end of the Devil's Glen, in the county of Wicklow, and another in the romantic valley of Glandine, in the county of Waterford, not far from the town of Youghal; it is in the cleft of a rocky dell, overhung by dense wood; the trickling stream from the top of the rock keeps the basin perpetually full, the superfluous water overflowing its sides. When viewed by the dubious light of a waning moon, the dim, shadowy reflections which pass over its surface, especially when a light wind gives motion to the trees, may, by a very slight effort of imagination, assume strange and mysterious shapes, which enthusiasm would receive as realities. It may also be mentioned as another instance of specular superstition, that in many parts of the British islands there are persons who cannot be persuaded to look into a

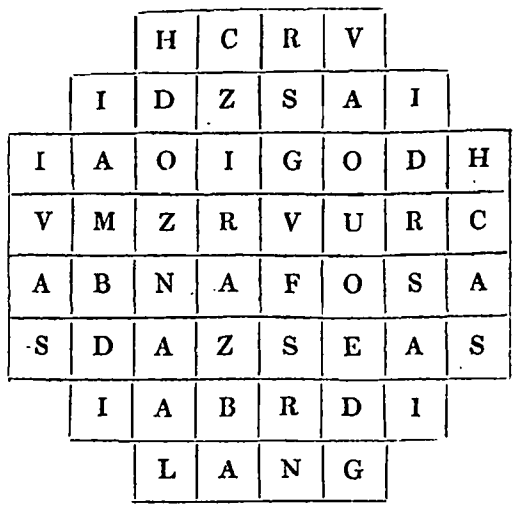
looking-glass at night through fear of discovering that a devil or a ghost is peeping over their shoulders. We have before us a letter written by a lady of great respectability, and extensive acquirement, describing a spectral appearance which both she and her servants observed in a convex mirror in her drawing-room, at a time when her mind was much agitated by the absence of her husband on some magisterial business connected with the prædial disturbances in the south of Ireland; it was probably an optical illusion arising from something peculiar in the position of the lights and the pictures in the room at the time.

Dee asserted that the stone was brought to him by angels; we find him telling the Emperor "that the angels of God had brought to him a stone of that value, that no earthly kingdom is of that worthiness to be compared with the dignity or virtue thereof." It seems, however, to have escaped notice that Dee had more than one of these stones; for he mentions in his diary "the principal stone," "this other stone," "the first sanctified stone," "the usual shew-stone," reserving to the principal the exclusive title of "the holy stone." We may, perhaps, conjecture that he happened to observe in natural crystals some of the phenomena connected with the polarization of light, and not being able to account for them,

imagined them to be some spectral appearances. In one place he asserts that the holy stone was taken away by some spiritual being, who entered in at the window, but was afterwards restored by the same agency in the presence of the Doctor, Kelly, and Albert Laski.

Besides the holy crystal, we find frequent mention of a curtain, or veil, of different colours and forms, which appeared within the stone itself, but was raised like the curtain of a theatre whenever the action of the spirits was about to commence. The curtain did not always drop at the conclusion of the drama, though it generally did when an angel of superior importance was about to disappear. Thus Kelly, announcing the disappearance of Gabriel says, "Now he hath plucked the curtain as if he had pulled it round about the stone, and it seemeth full of little sparks like stars."

Frequent mention is made of the holy table which was seen in the stone, and which Dee copied under the immediate direction of the angels; he nowhere professes to have obtained a perfect knowledge of its interpretation. A representation of the table is given by Casaubon, who adds also many little schemes of letters and numbers, which Dee professed himself unable to understand; we shall insert one of them, to exercise the ingenuity of any who may be ambitious to surpass Dr. Dee.



Among the holy furniture belonging to the stage in the sacred mirror, mention is made of a splendid chair, or throne, a carpet, candlestick, taper, table-cloth, cushion, &c. and the dresses of the several actors are described with laudable minuteness. Gabriel appears to have been the greatest beau of the company, for he often retires to change his dress, and on all occasions appears covered with a superfluity of ornaments.

Casaubon's publication of Dee's diary, and his record of the spiritual appearances and revelations shown in his mirror, excited much controversy at the time; nor is it now quite possible to solve all the difficulties connected with the subject. That he was often deceived by Kelly is very certain, for Kelly himself confessed so much; but in many places he asserts that he saw the spectral appearances, and heard the divine voices, as well

as his seer. Moreover, he clung to the delusion after his companion's death, and there is not such a difference between the reports of Hickman and Kelly as must have been found had both been knaves unconnected with each other. So far as we can see, the Doctor imposed upon himself, often suggesting to Kelly the nature of the visions he expected, and forcing the wretch to announce the appearances for which he craved. There can be no doubt that Kelly acted the knave when he announced the revelation enjoining a community of wives; Dee's record of the infamous transaction is one of the most painful and pitiable exhibitions of weakness which can be imagined. But, on the other hand, a man of very feeble mind could not have been the confidential agent of Elizabeth, Leicester, Burleigh, Sydney, and Hatton, nor could he have established on them a claim for services which the Queen herself declared to be of the highest importance. We know, however, that it is possible for a man to be both knave and dupe at the same time; to be at once the most credulous of enthusiasts, and the most crafty of impostors; Mohammed and Cromwell will at once present themselves to the mind as signal examples of such a blending of apparently opposite character. Such we believe to have been the case with both Dee and Kelly; they were both profligate agents, employed by a dishonourable administration for profligate purposes; but the means of deception which they employed recoiled

upon themselves, and they were led to expend the gains of guilt in the pursuit of folly.

Dee's alchemical studies are not recorded save by his sons; the general belief of his own age was that he had been able to effect the transmutation of metals; and he encouraged the opinion by writing to his friends some of the jargon of the adepts, which he expected them to receive as sublime instruction. With a brief specimen of one of his poetical and unintelligible epistles on this subject, we shall conclude our notice of this very singular, and, to a great extent, inexplicable man.

Testamentum Johannis Dee, Philosophi summi ad Johannem Grogan transmissum.

This letter third and last I mind to make
At your request for very virtue's sake;
Your written pangs and methods set aside,
From that I bid, look that you never slide.
Cut that in three which Nature hath made one,
Then strengthen it even by itself alone,
Wherewith then cut the powdered sun in twain
By length of time, and heal the wounds again.
The self-same sun twice yet more ye must wound
Still with new knives of the same kind and ground;
Our MONAD true thus use by Nature's law
Both bind and loose, only with ripe and raw,
And aye, thank God, who only is our guide,
All is enough; no more then at this tide.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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